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A  
HISTORY OF MUSIC.  
VOL. III.





A  
HISTORY OF MUSIC.

BY  
JOHN FREDERICK ROWBOTHAM.

*IN THREE VOLUMES.*

VOL. III.

LONDON :  
TRÜBNER & Co., LUDGATE HILL.

1887.



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# HISTORY OF MUSIC

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BOOK III.  
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THE DARK AGES.





A

# HISTORY OF MUSIC.

## BOOK III.

### THE DECLINE OF PAGANISM AND THE DARK AGES.

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#### CHAPTER I.

Such was the state of Tragedy at the time of Sophocles ; and the chorus, and the acting, and the solo singing, and the flute-playing were all knit together into one beautiful whole, and each in turn grew naturally out of the action of the drama in the part that it came, and there was no visible effort in producing this symmetry, but it all had the ease of nature. And it was the power of Rhythm which effected this masterly union of the various parts, and kept them all together, that is, the Rhythm of Character, which is otherwise called Strength, and abides in eternal repose ; so that to us, at this distant time, the Tragedy and its makers seem like a gallery of gods, or like those marble figures, that are the other relics which have come down to us from that age of repose and beauty. But what were the causes that led to the weakening of this character, and the ruffling of this repose, and broke

up for ever this beautiful life, which has never since in the world revived again? And whether it were the worry of war, or the excess of culture that began it, for both were at work, for the Peloponnesian war could not last for thirty years, with its constant reverses and discouragements, without fretting and galling the noblest minds, and the homage paid to intellect was likely to degenerate into the adoration of mere cleverness—however it were, the dignified Pericles was succeeded by the fractious Alcibiades, and Sophocles had to give way before the querulous Euripides. And the showy Alcibiades is marvellously reflected in the wordy and subtle Euripides, who was eminently a man of his time. And weakness of soul shows itself in complaint and passion, and weakness of mind in cunning and subtlety, which is the fruit of cowardice, and both were well exhibited in him. And Euripides was the pet pupil of the Sophist Prodicus, and if it were a preparation for dramatic poetry to learn the art of declamation and argument, he had that preparation to perfection. For these were the arts that the Sophists taught, to argue on both sides of a question, to make the worse appear the better reason, and to trick up the dry threads of logic with the spangles of artificial verbiage, so that dull ratiocination, which is tiresome and uninteresting in general to men, might commend itself by the charms of poetry and even of music; for melody of language was what they greatly aimed at. And this was an art which had much to recommend it to the men of the time, for the perpetual disputations of the Public Assembly, and the daily round of conversation in the Agora, could not go on for long among the æsthetic Athenians without an art



flowering on their surface. And we have seen the beginnings of these things before, but now they had greatly increased, and the exercises of the gymnasia were being neglected for this new and more intellectual pastime of gossip and talk. So that while we picture Sophocles in his youth striking his lyre and leading the dances of boys, we imagine Euripides disputing in the schools, and outshining his companions in the closeness of his arguments and the grace of his words. And this was the new spirit which was to be infused into Tragedy. And the results were quickly seen; for from the first Euripides, as was natural, laid all the stress on the dialogue of the actors, which he soon converted into an exhibition of argument and rhetoric; and neglected the musical part of the play, the songs and dances of the Chorus, which he set so little store on, that he employed other men to write the music for him, getting Iophon and Timocrates of Argos to write it for him, and he was the first who had ever done so. And what was the effect of the very first move of Euripides in the matter, that is, his laying a stress on one portion of the play to the neglect of the rest? And it was this, that the various parts of Tragedy, which we have seen grow together so slowly yet so surely into the perfect whole, began now to separate again, and in course of time they were to return into their former Chaos. And the first to feel the effect of the change was the Chorus. For by his devoting all his attention to the speeches of the actors, which he would centre all the interest of the play on, and so contrive that here and there they might have regular rhetorical arguments on the abstract questions in which he delighted; in this way, I say, he quite left the Chorus out of sight

in the action of the drama, and when it came to their turn to sing, he was glad to put them off with a song on any subject, not connected perhaps with the story of the play at all, as in the *Phœnissæ*, when the action of the play turns on the dispute between Eteocles and Polynices, he brings in the chorus singing a song about the birth of Bacchus, and in the *Helena*, where the story is of Melenaus' burial, he assigns the chorus a song on the Wanderings of Ceres, and in other plays in like manner. In this way the Chorus became unhinged from the body of the play, and year by year showed more and more signs of dropping off completely. And even at its best there was always something of patchwork and artificiality about it, as there must be when one man writes the music and another the words; and doubtless in the figures of the dance, there would be the same want of union between the motions of the dancers and the words they sang, though on this point we are not particularly informed. But yet this praise must not be denied to the choruses of Euripides—the beauty of their melody. And indeed this was a beauty which arose naturally from his very faults. For melody is easy of coming, when we give our will the rein, and slower of coming when we bend our music to an unalterable purpose. In this way the choruses of Sophocles, who had something of the Epic in his composition, and whose every tone and thought was obedient to the development of the action of the drama, may come somewhat short in sugared sweetness of the choruses of Euripides, which were free from all such restraint, and were often wanton toyings with dainty subjects that he picked at will from the garden of lyric poetry. And Euripides delighted in those soft Ionian

feet, which are so melodious in singing, and many choral parts in his plays are made up almost entirely of those feet;<sup>1</sup> and also in the New Bacchiuses and the Prosodiac,<sup>2</sup> that dally so sweetly at the close and the commencement. And the melody of his language, which is sweeter and more delicate than that of Sophocles, would greatly enhance the charm of his songs. And these things united to much more artful music, as it must have been, since the men who wrote it were exclusive musicians, and not the combined musicians and poets they had used to be—all this may teach us how the choruses of Euripides commended themselves to the Athenian audience of his day, and how he won the prize from Sophocles.

And now we will give one or two choruses of Euripides, in order to contrast his style with the vigour of Sophocles. And we will take first a chorus from his Hippolytus, and it is where the Chorus come dancing in, to tell what they had heard of Phædra.

*Str.*

—    ∪    ∪	—    ∪    ∪    —
ὦ - κε - αν -	οὔ τις ὕδ-ωρ
—    —    ∪    ∪	—    ∪    ∪    —
στά - Ζουσα πέτ -	ρα λέγε - ται
—    —    —	∪    ∪    ∪    —
βαπ - τὰν κάλ -	πι - σι ῥυ - τὰν
—    —    ∪    ∪	—    ∪    —    ∪
πα - γὰν προ - ῖ -	εἶσα κρημ-νῶν,

<sup>1</sup> As the choruses in the Bacchæ. 519. (Nauck's Edition.) Hercules Furens. 348. Heracleidæ. 748. Iphig. in Taur. 1089. Iph. in Aul. 751. &c., &c.

<sup>2</sup> ∪ — —, — — ∪ For the first, Cf. the chorus in the Hecuba. 629, Cf. Hercul. Fur. 351. 640. Rhesus. 693. For the second, Ion. 909. Iphig. in Aulis. 571. Rhesus. 343. 273. &c.

υ	υ	—		υ	—	υ	—				
ὄθ	- ι	μοι		τις	ἦν	φίλα					
—	υ	υ		—	υ	υ	—				
πορ-φνρ	- έ	-		α	φά-ρ	- α					
	υ	υ		υ	—	υ	—				
	ποτ	- α	-	μί	- α	δρό-σ	ω				
—	—	υ	—	—	υ	υ	—				
τέγ	-	γουνσα	θερ	-	μᾶς	δ'έ-πὶ	νῶ	-	υ	—	—
									τα	πέτρας	
—	—	υ		—	υ	υ	—		υ	—	—
εὐ	- α	-	λί	-	ον	κατέ(βαλλ',			ῥθεν	μοι	
	—			—	υ	υ	—		υ	—	—
	πρώ	-	τα	φά-τις	ἦλ	-	-	θε	δέσποιναν		

*Ant.*

—	υ	υ		—	υ	υ	—				
τει	- ρομ	- έ	-	ναν	νοσε	- ρῆ					
—	—	υ	υ	—	υ	υ	—				
κοί	- τα	δέμ	- ας	ἐν	- τὸς	ἔχειν,					
—	—	—		υ	υ	υ	—				
οἶ	- κων	λεπ	-	τὰ	δὲ	φά-ρη					
—	—	υ	υ	—	υ	—	υ				
ξαν	- θὰν	κεφ	- α	-	λὰν	σκι-άζειν.					
	υ	υ	—	υ	—	υ	—				
	τρι	- τά	- ταν	δέ	νιν	κλύ-ω					
—	υ	υ		—	υ	υ	—				
τάν	- δε	κατ'		ἀμ-βροσ-ί	- ον						
	υ	υ		υ	—	υ	—				
	στόμ	- α	-	τος	ά	- μέρ-αν					
—	—	υ	—	—	υ	υ	—				
Δά	- μα	-τρος	ἀκ	-	τᾶς	δέμ-ας	άγ	-	υ	—	—
	—	—	υ	—	υ	υ	—		υ	—	—
	κρύπ-τω	πάθ	-	ει	θαν-ά-του				θέ	- λουσαν	
	—			—	υ	υ	—		υ	—	—
	κέλ	-	σαι	ποτὶ	τέρ	-	μα	δύστανον.			

And here we may notice the softness of the



Choriambes that run through it, and the softness and even monotony of the endings, and the feminine

— — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — ∪  
 grace of that line, πρῶ - τα φατις ἤλθε δέσ - ποι - ναν,  
 and the smoothness of the opening lines of the Strophe. And the lines faint much, as we read them.

And the next chorus we will take is from his Cyclops, and it is of much the same character. As indeed are they all.

*Str.*

—	—	—	—	—	∪	∪	—
πᾶ	μοι	γεν -	ναί -	ων	πατ -	ερ -	ων
—	—	—	—	—	∪	∪	—
γεν -	ναί -	ων τ'	ἐκ	τοκ -	ἰδ -	ων	
—	—	—	—	—	∪	∪	—
πᾶ	δὴ	μοι	νίσ -	σει	σκοπ -	ελ -	ους ;
∪	—	∪	—	∪	∪	—	—
οὐ	τᾶδ'	ὕπ -	ή -	νε -	μοσ	αὖ -	ρα
—	—	—	—	—	∪	∪	—
καὶ	ποι -	η -	-	ρὰ	βο -	τάν -	α
∪	—	—	∪	—	∪	∪	—
δι -	νᾶ -	εν θ'	ῦ -	δωρ	ποτ -	α -	μῶν
—	—	—	—	—	∪	∪	—
ἐν	πίσ -	τραις	κεῖ -	ται	πέλας	ἄν -	
—	—	—	—	—	∪	∪	—
τρων,	οὗ	σοι	βλα -	χαὶ	τε -	κέ -	ων ;
—	∪	∪	∪	—	∪	∪	∪
ψύττα,	σὺ	τάδ'	οὗ,	κοὺ	τάδε	νεμῆ,	
—	—	∪	—	—	∪	∪	—
οὐδ'	αὖ	κλι -	-	τύν	δροσ -	ε -	ράν ;
—	—	∪	—	—	∪	∪	—
ρίψ -	ω	πέτ -	-	ρον	τάχ -	α	σου
∪	∪	—	∪	∪	—	—	—
ῥπαγ'	ῶ	ῥπαγ'	ῶ	κε -	ράσ -	τα,	

$\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$        $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 μη - λο - βό - τα      στασ - ί - ω - ρον  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 Κύκ - λω - πος      ἀγ - ρο - βό - τα.

*Ant.*

$\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 σπαρ - γών - τας      μασ - τούς χά - λα - σον .  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 δέξ - αι      θη - λαῖ - σι σπο - ράς,  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 ἄς      λεί - πεις      ἄρ - νων θα - λά - μοις.  
 $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$        $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 πο - θοῦ - σί      σ'ά - μερό - κοι - τοι  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 βλα - χαὶ      σμι - κρῶν τεκ - έ - ων.  
 $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 εἰς αὐ - λάν ποτ',      ἀμ - φι - θα - λείς  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 ποι - η - ροὺς      λεί - που - σα νόμους,  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 Αἶτ - ναί - ων      εἶ - σει σκοπέ - λων ;  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\cup$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 οὐ τά - δε Βρόμ - ιος,      οὐ τά - δε χο - ροὶ  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 Βάκ - χαι      τε      θυρ - σο - φό - ροι,  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$        $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 οὐ τυ - πάνων      ἄρ - αγ - μοί,  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 οὐκ      οἶ - νου      χλω - ραὶ σταγ - όν - ες  
 $\overline{\quad}$   $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$        $\overline{\quad}$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\overline{\quad}$   
 κρή - ναις      παρ      ὕ - δρο - χύ - τοις.

And we shall notice here how the melody is in advance of the rhythm, which is remarkable for its smooth monotony. But many lines have artful rhymes,

as the first two, the 4th and 5th, &c., in the Strophe, the 9th, 10th, 11th in the Antistrophe, and others beside.

And abandoning himself to this softer mood, which is the mood of passion and sentiment, Euripides was naturally led to infuse its spirit into the dialogue, on which he laid such stress, as well as into the chorus; and this he did by breaking the regular march of the iambics, which rolled along in Sophocles and Æschylus like some great Epic poem, and introducing snatches of passionate melody and broken rhythms, that were of a piece with the songs of the chorus, and like them were sung to the accompaniment of flutes and lyres. Only this time it was a solo singer that sang them, and not a dancing chorus moving through the orchestra in time with the measure, so that their effect depended greatly on the passion and sentiment of the actor who sang them, since all spectacular aid was absent from them. And these are the songs that were called Monodies, because they were sung by a single actor. And they are in keeping with Euripides' other innovations in Tragedy; for they are a breaking loose from the restraint of rhythm, that is, they are a sign of weakness and want of self control, which is the explanation of all passion;<sup>1</sup> and the same want of grasp, which showed itself in his slack handling of the play itself, so that the component parts began to fall away from one another, showed itself in his handling of the iambic metre, which he was compelled to break free from again and again—he fretted and fumed so much.

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<sup>1</sup> To Photius they are *θρῆνοι*, "laments," by which he designates all monodies. It was the excess of passion which produced the song, and thus the want of music produced music.

And if we imagine a long operatic *scena*, we shall have a good idea of a Monody. And the beginning of this style of writing might have been seen in Sophocles, who well divined what great effects might be produced by the passion of utterance breaking out into song, and indeed it was in keeping with the Paracataloge, or "mixture of speech and song," which was the basis of all Greek Tragedy, as we have said. But if Sophocles uses it, he uses it sparingly and judiciously, and only when the occasion most strongly demands it. But Euripides is never done with it, and most probably, because he saw that his beautiful choruses were such favourites with the people, he brought in his frequent Monodies, with their choral rhythm, to please the people also, for he ever had his eye there instead of keeping it on his art. And all his Monodies are beautiful and melodious, and some are well timed, but most are wearisome and out of place, as that Monody in *Ion*<sup>1</sup> which is not called for, indeed, and is near a hundred lines long; and the Monody is full of most beautiful music, but yet, because it is not actually called for in the action of the drama, but is merely put there to please, it falls on deaf ears.<sup>2</sup> And as we to-day complain of the sweetest music, when it is poured on us without stint, and some, for that reason, would go to banish *arias* and *scenas* completely from our boards, so did the more judicious Greeks of that day complain of the untiring melodiousness of Euripides' monodies, and many thought that monodies were beneath the dignity of tragedy altogether. "As long

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<sup>1</sup> p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Monody in *Electra*. 112. σύντεν' ὦρα, which is a still more remarkable example.



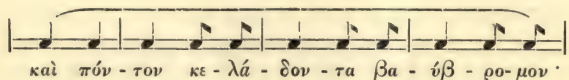
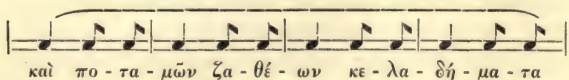
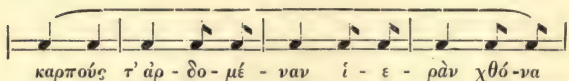
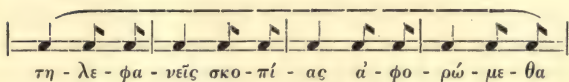
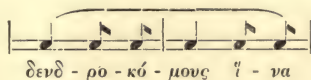
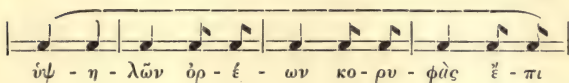
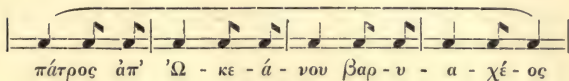
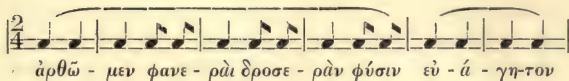
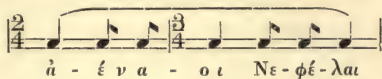
as it is *Andromache*, or *Hecuba*," says Lucian, "who is singing, we can excuse your Monody; but when Hercules so far forgets himself as to begin it, and warbles away, with a calm disregard to his lionskin and his club, we are apt to condemn the Monody as a solecism, that should have never been admitted into tragedy at all." And the opinion he expresses was felt by many men at the time we are writing of; for despite the acknowledged beauty of Euripides' writings, it was the outcome of weakness, and nothing else but the beauty of decay; for it has been well said, that the surest sign of the decline of an art is not the occurrence of plainness or deformity, but the superabundance of beauty.

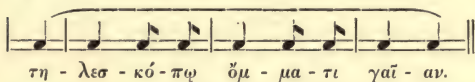
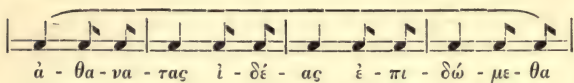
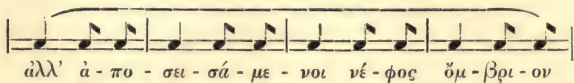
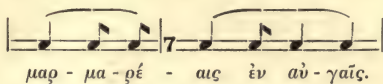
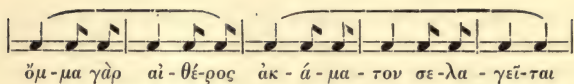
But there was one sphere of Athenian music, where these mischievous tendencies had not affected an entrance, and which had kept comparatively pure while tragedy was decaying. And this was the Comic Drama, which was built on much the same plan as the Tragic, and fitted often with very beautiful music. For it consisted of actors and chorus, dialogue and song; and when the chorus were not a band of pantaloons, as sometimes they were not, for in one play we know of they were a troop of maidens with wings and gauze, to represent the Clouds, and in another they were a flock of chattering Birds, and we also hear of Nightingales<sup>1</sup> for a chorus, and of Sirens<sup>2</sup>—and in cases like these, I say, we may well imagine the most beautiful music assigned to their part, as indeed the choruses of this kind which have come down to us, teach us that it was. For what can be more suave and dulcet than such a chorus as this, and it is from the "*Clouds*" of Aristophanes, and a troop of girls, who are the Clouds,

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<sup>1</sup> The title of one of Cantharus' Comedies.    <sup>2</sup> A comedy of Eupolis.

come sailing in through the side entrances of the orchestra, and sing as they float round the altar.





And of these tuneful and melodious choruses, which have all the vigour of rhythm, with none of that effeminate laxity which was fast spoiling tragedy, we have many examples in the writings of Aristophanes. And Comedy was at its best when Tragedy was decaying. And it has been well said that the Muses, before they quitted Greece for ever, found a home in the breast of Aristophanes.

And Comedy had had a different origin from Tragedy. For while Tragedy arose as we have seen from the choral and martial dances of the Dorians, Comedy arose from the festivities of the vintage. For the rustics of the villages had their Harvest home with the grape, as we have with the corn. And mounted on waggons they would go singing and laughing along the road; and this is how Comedy begun. For sometimes they would organise processions; and first would come a

man with a jug of wine and a vine branch in his hand, and then one with a basket of figs, and after him was carried aloft the Phallus, or serpent, which was a symbol of the God of the Vintage, and then all the vinedressers and peasants in their carts. And the jug of wine and the basket of figs were to be the prizes for the best jester. And they strived to outdo one another in coarse ribaldry, and he who made the coarsest jest, or said the broadest thing, received the prize. And it was drunken Epicharmus, we hear, who first gave a rough form to these uproarious elements, and he filled them with the wildest buffoonery, but yet he always had a tale of some sort running through his jokes, and this is how Comedy began. But others would have it that Susarion of Megara was the first to give the start to Comedy, and others Epicharmus in Sicily, as we have said. But however that may be, the thing progressed, and regular writers arose for it, and they were all of them of the pattern of Epicharmus—topers, tipplers, merry fellows. There was Cratinus, that tipped eternally, as he boasts of doing, and Eupolis, who was not far behind him. And Aristophanes was a free liver and fond of his liquor, and so were they all, down to the last of them, Philemon, who had an epic end, for he died of laughing at seeing an ass eat figs.

And Comedy, in its perfect form, such as we find it in the works of Aristophanes, which is all we know it by, was not very different in the groundwork of its form from Tragedy, as we have said. And these are the main differences of Comedy from Tragedy. First there was a far more frequent change of scene, as was natural from the characters of the plays themselves—wild buffooneries, reckless improbabilities, which were heaped on one another till your brain



reeled under the extravagance. And so, frequent change of scene was a necessity, to give room to the ridiculousness to assert its licence. And next, the Chorus was 24 in number, instead of 15, like the Tragic Chorus was; and in the earlier days of Comedy the Chorus did not wear masks, and perhaps later on it was sometimes the same, but smeared their faces with wine lees instead, to make themselves look more merry and Bacchanalian. And it was much the same idea which made them spread purple skins over the stage in Comedy, for perhaps this was to make the very scene uproarious and rosy. And thirdly, the Comic Chorus, at one part of the play or another, always sang what we should call a "Topical Song," and in Greek it was called a Parabasis, or Digression, and consisted in personal allusions, or political jokes, or digs at any of the author's rivals. And it had nothing to do with the plot of the play at all, and it was a remnant of the old carnival raillery with which Comedy began. And part of it was sung by the leader of the chorus as proxy for the poet, for it was the poet's part of the play, in which he could say what he liked; and the rest was sung by the Chorus in Strophe and Antistrophe, as in the regular choruses. But excepting for these differences, which we have just enumerated, the form of the Comedy was in all respects the same as that of the Tragedy. Only its character, of course, was the very reverse. And the comic poets would have choruses dancing in the orchestra of Ploughmen,<sup>1</sup> of Coalheavers,<sup>2</sup> of Bargees, of Drunkards,<sup>3</sup> of Cowherds,<sup>4</sup> or they would have them dressed up

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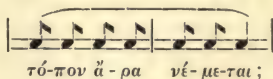
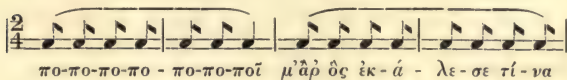
<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes. Pax.

<sup>2</sup> Id. Acharnians.

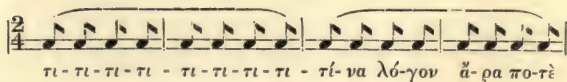
<sup>3</sup> Epicharmus' Comastæ.

<sup>4</sup> Cratinus' Bucoli.

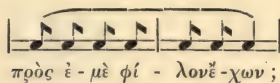
as we do in our pantomines, and have choruses of Birds, of Wasps, of Frogs, of Ants, of Fishes, of Calves,<sup>1</sup> perfect imitations of the creatures, and the music would be corresponding. And this is a thing we must not overlook, the humour and fun of the Comic music. For the rhythms were made to mimic the characters—ungainly rhythms for the rustics, mincing rhythms for fops, and so on. But particularly is it in these Animal choruses that the fun comes out. And let us hear the chirruping of the birds. And the story of the play is, that Alcibiades and his friend Euelpides, whom Aristophanes hated, as he did all such effeminate fellows, and took them off on all possible occasions, made an expedition to the city of the Cuckoos up in the clouds, which they imagined was another Utopia. And no sooner are they there than they are surrounded by a flock of birds—there are birds of every sort in the chorus—jays, turtle-doves, larks, owls, buzzards, herons, falcons, kestrels, cuckoos, robin redbreasts, ouzels, ospreys, woodpeckers—and this is the way they come in chirruping:—



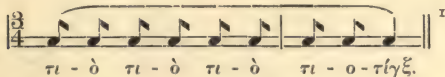
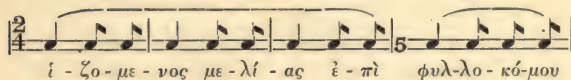
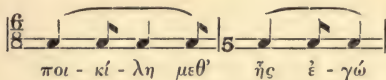
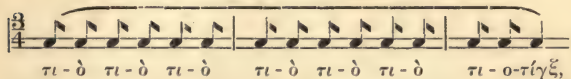
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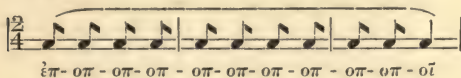
<sup>1</sup> "The Ants" and "The Calves" are plays of Eubulus; "The Fishes," of Archippus.



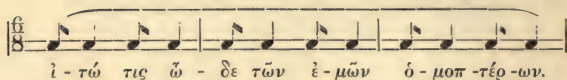
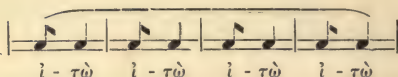
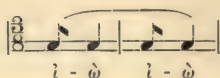
Or here is another of their chirping rhythms, and it is in a different time, as we may see:—



Or would you have a solo from the Hoopoo:—

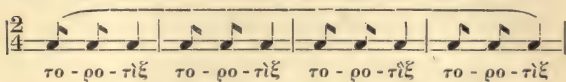


<sup>1</sup> p. 738.

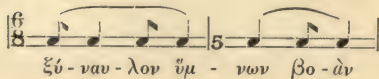
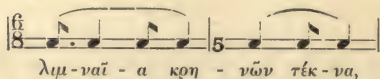
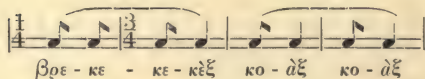
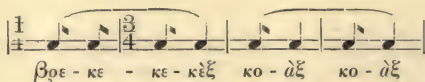


And then he breaks into cluttering iambics.

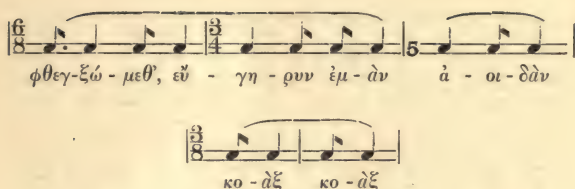
This was the Hoopoo. Now for the red-legged partridge:—



And this is the way he makes the Frogs croak:—

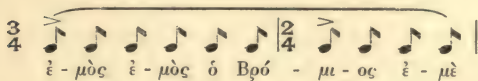
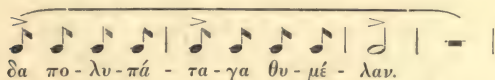
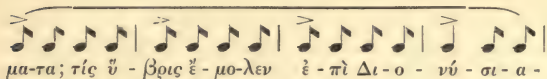
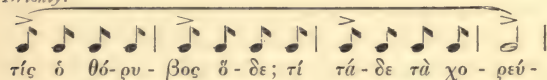




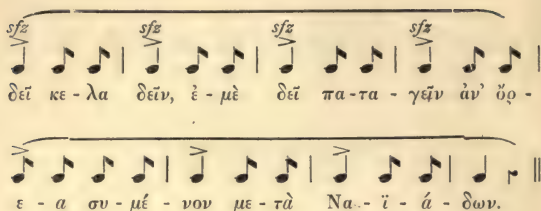


In fact there is no limit to the musical humour of Aristophanes, and his frolics with sound. And what is true of him, is no less true of the other comedians. And let me quote one more example of this frisky humour, and for a change I will give a snatch of a Hyporcheme, which was so closely allied to the Comic dance, and although its place should strictly have fallen earlier in these pages, its character well earns it a place here.<sup>1</sup> And let us notice the liveliness of the rhythm :—

*Briskly.*



It is from a Hyporcheme of Pratinas.



So that when we turn from this gay sprightliness of style to the lumbering measures of Euripides again, and his intellectuality, and his gravity and pompous rhetoric, we see very well where the buoyancy of the age was, and how much Tragedy had fallen into the rear, when its master could be a man such as he was.

Indeed we cannot compare the two for a moment. And Aristophanes is never weary of rallying Euripides for his pedantry and his prosiness. And I think it was Eupolis who first introduced this manner into Comedy, of making the play a vehicle for general satire, but he seems to have limited it to political satire, which indeed was one of its great *fortes* by this time, but Aristophanes extended its sphere to every kind of satire, and literary satire is what he delights in. And let us hear Comedy chaffing Tragedy—Aristophanes taking off the dull Euripides. And in one of his comedies, the *Acharnians*, he feigns one of his characters on a visit to Euripides. And Dicæopolis, for that is the man's name, knocks at the door of Euripides' house, and asks the servant if his master is at home? And the servant gives the Euripidean answer, "He is at home and yet he is not at home, if you can understand that." "How can he be at home, and yet not at home?" "Very easily. His mind is abroad gathering scraps of poetry, but his body is at home writing tragedy." And when at last we find the great tragedian, what is he

engaged in doing? He is searching for rags to wrap his heroes in, for he is so anxious to be true to nature, that he has forgotten art. And heroes must suffer misfortune like other folk, and the calm tranquility of tragedy must be blurred by passion, and tears must come (for all these things are natural), so that while he is speaking we feel very well that the days of this glorious art are fast passing away, and that the reign of the gods is ceasing among men, and that a new order of things is on the way. For what is this Passion that pushes itself into classic thought, and these womanly feelings, and compassion for weakness? And certainly, as I write it, it is not Greek, but it is something else.

And by this time Sophocles was dead. And he was laid in that Colonus that he loved so well. And this is the epitaph that was written:—

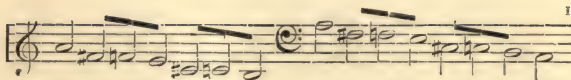
Twine, gentle evergreen, and form a shade  
Round the dear tomb where Sophocles is laid.  
Sweet ivy, bend thy boughs and intertwine  
With blushing roses and the clustering vine.  
Thus shall thy lasting leaves with beauties hung  
Prove grateful emblems of the lays he sung.

And Euripides was succeeded in his dictatorship of Tragedy by Agatho. And he was a mean man, and an effeminate fellow. And he wrote a poem in praise of love, and also idylls as well as tragedies. And the want of union between the chorus and the dialogue, which men complained of in Euripides, was made still worse by Agatho. For they say that there was not one of his choruses that had anything to do with the subject of the drama.<sup>1</sup> And he had

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<sup>1</sup> *Ἐμβόλιμα*, Aristotle calls them. *Poetic.* 18. 22.





And the skips were by consequence half a tone shorter, and not the semitone was divided but the whole tone, the semitone forming the under half of the division.

And the Chromatic had been in existence indeed before Agatho's time, but not much used, and never at all in the higher walks of art. For as certainly, as we have said, it was not used in Tragedy,<sup>2</sup> so it was not used in the Choral Odes of Epinician, Gymnopædic, &c., styles,<sup>3</sup> and only for the lower and particularly the amorous style of music.<sup>4</sup> And if we search for the history of the Chromatic, it was in the luxurious city of Sicyon that it first saw the light, and Lysander, the cithara player, devised it to diversify the sound of the solo cithara,<sup>5</sup> which had always this to contend with, that being unaccompanied with words it must use some shift of novelty to be a counterpoise to this. And thus was the Chromatic instituted as an agreeable variety of the Enharmonic, for it is merely a variety of that style as we may see, resembling it in the skips that it every now and then takes, and in the exhibition of the division only twice in the 8ve. And let us for a moment view the leading modes under the influence of the chromatic. And the Dorian Mode,

<sup>1</sup> καθ' ἡμιτόνιον καὶ ἡμιτόνιον καὶ τριημιτόνιον. (Aristides.)

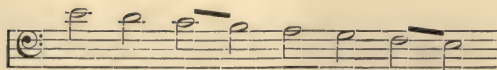
<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Plutarch's remarks. *De Musica*. XX.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*.

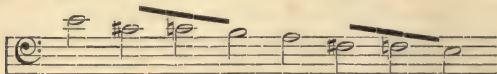
<sup>4</sup> It is classed with πολυχорδία, μεταβολή, and the other admitted perversions of music, by Plutarch himself. *De Mus.* XXI.

<sup>5</sup> Athenæus. p. 637. Plutarch's statement is considered above p. —. The chromatic has however been referred to other musicians than Lysander.



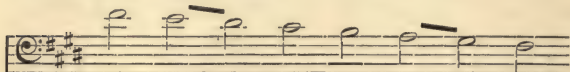


sung in the Chromatic Style, would become

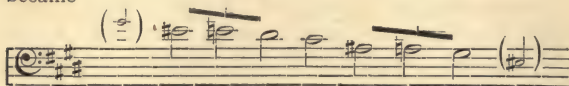


commencing to divide from half a tone above the semitone, and making its original semitone from the under half of the division.

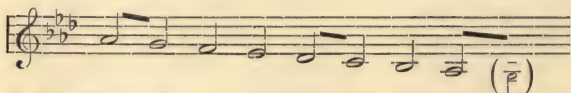
And the Phrygian Mode, in like manner,



became



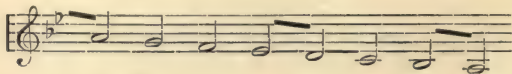
And the Lydian Mode,



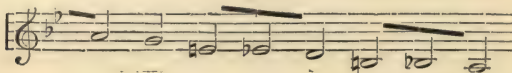
in the Chromatic,



And the Mixolydian Mode,

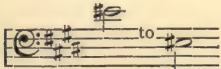


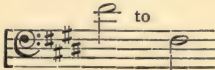
would become

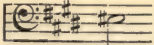



And the "Hypo" Modes in the same way, which it will be unnecessary here to set down.

And it was quite in keeping with Agathon and Athens of that time, that such a meretricious grace, coming from luxurious Sicyon, should find a ready welcome. And such favour did it receive, and so universal became its practice, that it gave birth to new manners of singing the Modes, or rather, we should say, that new Modes arose in the effort to accommodate the old ones to the Chromatic style. For taking the Phrygian Mode, as we have written it above in both forms, it is plain that if the Chromatic is to be the commoner form of the two, the Phrygian Mode will be much more naturally sung

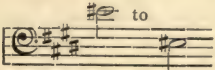
from  which allows the voice to move freely up and down in the Chromatic dièses,

than in the old form of  which

clips it of the lower  to which the voice falls from the Chromatic progression, as it goes downwards, or ascends from it, moving upwards ;

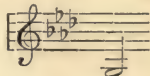
while the upper , which is not employed

at all, is plainly entirely useless. In this way, a new form of the Phrygian Mode arose, namely,

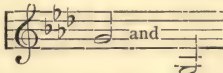

from , containing the same intervals

as the old one, but lying within limits that rendered it far more convenient for the employment

of the Chromatic. This was called the Low Phrygian. And in the same way the Lydian—which, it will be seen, misses its Chromatic *Pycnon* altogether in its

lower part, owing to the want of the 

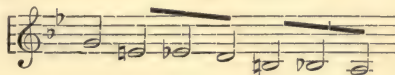
—the Lydian likewise received a low form, which lay

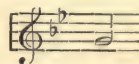
between  and , which employed the

same intervals as the original Lydian, but lay far more conveniently for the exhibition of the Chromatic. This was called the Low Lydian. And similarly the

Mixolydian received a low form, the 

falling out as useless, in the constant travelling of the

voice through 

and the scale being rounded off with a 

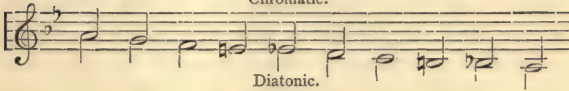
at the bottom.<sup>1</sup> And the other modes, in the same way, all received low forms, all except the Dorian, which, as will be seen, perfectly exhibits two complete Chromatic *pycnons* in its original position, while the Hypodorian, which was at the bottom of the system, was also left untouched. And the Modes, in their forms of Low and High, stood as follows, beginning with the Mixolydian :—

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<sup>1</sup> The *rationale* of the change in the Mixolydian may admit conjecture.

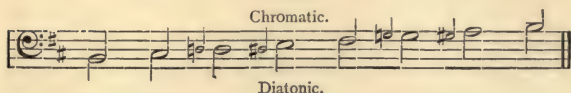
*High Mixolydian (Original Mode).*

Chromatic.

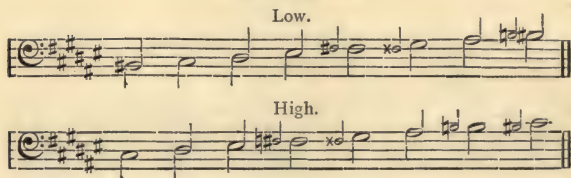


complexity then was introduced into the music by these means, that Aristoxenus, who is the Pythagoras of this later age, found it necessary, at no long time after this, to make a re-arrangement of the entire Greek Modes; and accepting his arrangement as a perfect scheme of the music of the time, we shall see what remarkable changes had been introduced by this predominance of the Chromatic, for not only had these new Modes been introduced, and two or three more, which we have not mentioned, but the whole scale had been changed, as we shall presently see. For these are the Modes in the arrangement of Aristoxenus—and they are fifteen in all—

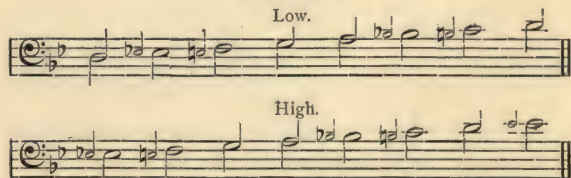
*Hypodorian or Æolian (unpaired).*



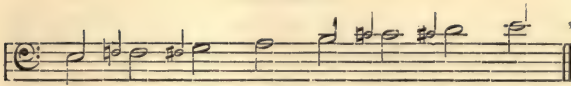
*Hypophrygian.*



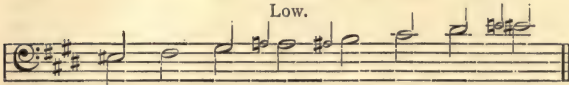
*Hypolydian.*



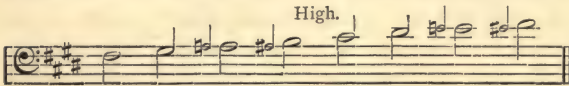


*Dorian.**Phrygian.*

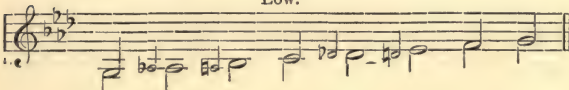
Low.



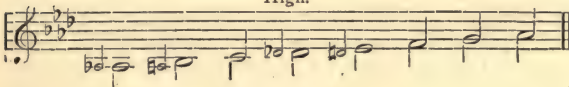
High.

*Lydian.*

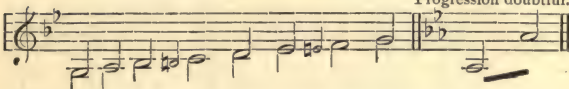
Low.



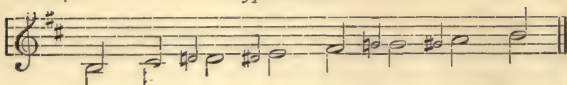
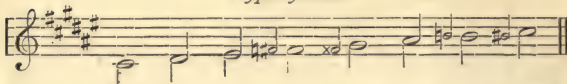
High.

*Mixolydian.*

Low Mixolydian.

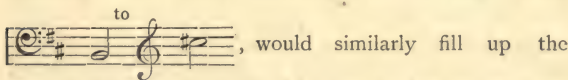
High Mixolydian.  
Progression doubtful.*Hypermixolydian (Original Mixolydian).*

<sup>1</sup> The Hypodorian is also called the Locrian; the first Phrygian, the Ionian. There is also a Hypo-Ionian, which is also the first Hypophrygian. For the above, see Aristides Quintilianus. p. 23.

*Hyperæolian.**Hyperlydian.*

And these last two plainly carry us beyond the limits of the old Greek system, which ended on A, but now we have it extended a few notes higher. And this extension upwards, coming at such a time as this, is a sign of querulousness and effeminacy, perhaps, in the music, and was doubtless due much to instrumental influence, as we shall see.

So then now these Modes, which take up for standing room every semitone on a scale from



would similarly fill up the original Diatonic Scale on A, which is the familiar form we write this B Scale in, as follows (for from B to C# becomes A to B $\sharp$ , and the semitones fill in as under):—

Hypodorian.	Hypophrygian	Hypophrygian	Hypolydian	Hypolydian	Dorian.	Phrygian	Phrygian	Lydian	Lydian	Mixolydian	Mixolydian	Hyper-	Hyper-	Hyper-
	(Low).	(High).	(Low).	(High).		(Low).	(High).	(Low).	(High).	(Low).	(High).	mixolydian.	æolian.	lydian.

<sup>1</sup> Aristides. p. 23. (in Meibomius.)

So that in this setting of the Modes, we have the original Pythagorean Scale, increased by the same full complement of Chromatic Semitones, which we are accustomed to think of nowadays, when we talk of the Chromatic Scale.

And though this scale differs vastly from ours in its employment, and, in the form in which we have written it, is only of theoretical application, it is nevertheless interesting to observe how it has grown up, and how these various semitones have been brought so symmetrically together—by the influence, namely, of isolated Chromatic progressions occurring in the various modes, and necessitating, as if by accident, casual alterations, which have ended in producing so excellent an order.

Now the start of this movement, which has in a short time grown to such maturity, we have found to be owing to Instrumental influences, and its continuance was doubtless due to the same. For Instrumental music, which delights in that wanton frolicking with sound, and which can do harder things than the Voice can, because it is mechanical and precise, while the voice is unaffected and careless by comparison—the instruments were fast taking the *pas* of the voice in the affections of the people, and in no long time after Agatho and Euripides instrumental music had overspread the face of Athenian life, and almost banished the voice from the scene. And we hear of most artful lyre-players, whose execution was miraculous,<sup>1</sup> and the lyres they played on are generally spoken of as having 12 strings,<sup>2</sup> which looks very much as if they were all set

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. Amœbæus and others alluded to below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plutarch. De Musica. fin. quoting Pherecrates. Also the lyre of Phrynis, which the Ephors cut, &c.

in this Chromatic Scale that we have mentioned. And of the citharas the same—and the cithara-players were even greater virtuosos than the lyre-players, and attracted still more attention.<sup>1</sup> And so it was with the citharas and the lyres. But there was one instrument that overtopped them all in public esteem—and that was that most meretricious of instruments, the Flute, which always comes prominently to the fore when instrumental music is in the ascendant, and having again and again attempted to assert itself in Greece, now we may say that at last it was master of the situation. The skill of the lyre-players and the cithara-players vanished into nothing before the amazing execution of the flute-players. And all the people would flock to hear the flute-players perform, preferring them much to the lyre-players and the cithara-players, and placing them even before the delights of the Tragedy. And standing in some conspicuous place in the centre of their audience, and arrayed in long flowing robes, and with women's veils on, and having straps strapped round their cheeks to support the muscles of the mouth, the flute-players would play. And they were effeminate fellows, and more women than men. And some of them would wear delicate Milesian slippers while they played, and saffron-coloured gowns.<sup>2</sup> And the sums that they asked for their performance, and that were paid them, were immense. Some received as much as £200 for the day's performance, and others more than this. And they were fellows that lived in the best society, and rolled in wealth and luxury. So that it became a proverb to say of

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<sup>1</sup> Some of those loosely mentioned as lyre-players, were strictly citharists. e.g. Amœbæus.

<sup>2</sup> Among others, Antigenides. See the account in Suidas.

any one who lived extravagantly and luxuriously, αὐλήτου βίον ζῆ,<sup>1</sup> "he lives the life of a flute player." And these were the names of some of them—Ismenias, Philoxenus, Dorion, Antigenides, Telephanes, and Mnestor. And Philoxenus was he who wished he were all neck, so that he might enjoy his gluttony more. And this was the character of them all—gluttons, epicures, haughty parasites, that lived at kings' tables, as Dorion, for instance, who gormandised at the table of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse; and some would boast their achievements in cookery. And Ismenias, when he would purchase a gorgeous jewel, and got it by accident at a lower price than it was worth, was angry with the man who sold it him so cheap, and said, "You have disgraced the jewel." And there were female flute-players as well as male, of whom Lamia was the chief, that was a female flute-player, and the mistress of Demetrius Poliorcetes. And the female flute-players were equally the rage, and they belonged always to the class of courtesans, who flooded Athenian life at present, and were so much the rulers and leaders of life, that biographies of five hundred and thirty-five of the leading ones were in existence in antiquity, although lost now.<sup>2</sup> And that we may see what honours were paid to the female flute-players, the degenerate Athenians built a temple to the flute-player, Lamia, and worshipped her during her life as Venus.<sup>3</sup>

And the flutes that the flute-players played on were most expensive. For indeed they must have produced most melodious tones, and the greatest care must have been spent in making them, and it took years

<sup>1</sup> Suidas. Xenophon also speaks to the same effect in the Memorabilia,

<sup>2</sup> By the grammarian, Aristophanes.

<sup>3</sup> Athenæus, p. 253.



and years for the wood to season itself to sweetness. And the prices of some of these flutes we know. And the flute of Ismenias, the flute-player, cost £581, and the flutes of other flute-players were not far behind. But most of all was Antigenides renowned for the care he took in choosing his flutes. And we hear that he altered the time of cutting the reeds from September to July or June.<sup>1</sup> For the reeds of which the flutes were made, grew in the Lake Copaïs in Bœotia, which also had furnished Pindar and the Theban flute-players with flutes. And this is the way the reeds were cut: The flute reed always grew when the lake was full with a flood, which took place about once every 9 or 10 years. Its time of growing was when, after a rainy season, the water had kept in the lake two years or more—and the longer the better. And it was a stout, puffy reed, fuller and more fleshy and softer in appearance than other reeds. And when the lake was swollen, the reeds increased in length. And the time of cutting was in the rainy season in September. And this was the time of cutting, up till Antigenides' time. And he changed the time of cutting to June or July, *i.e.* in the heat of summer. And the pipes cut at this period, they say, became seasoned much sooner: three years were sufficient to season these, while the others cut in the rainy season took many years to season.<sup>2</sup> This is what they tell us. But I think it was another reason which induced him to cut them in the dry season. And that was to get the reeds crisper, and shorter, and smaller in the bore, and that for

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<sup>1</sup> Theophrastus. Hist. Plant. IV. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The whole account is in Theophrastus. Hist. Plant. IV. 11.

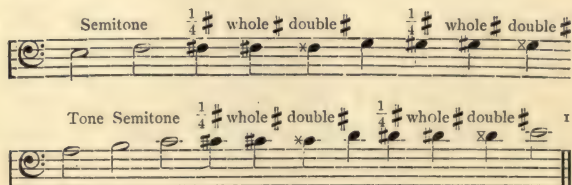
this he was ready to sacrifice even beauty of tone, in order to get them crisp and small.<sup>1</sup>

For there was a peculiarity in the music of the time, which would make such reeds very much in demand for flutes. For we have already spoken of the favour which the Chromatic mode found at Athens, and we have attributed its introduction generally to the influence of the instruments, and also to the effeminacy of the people. But we might have given a nicer reason. For we have always found that in early times of a people's history, when there is a broad simplicity of thought among men, the Diatonic scale, with its free open intervals, prevails, to the exclusion of all other; and also in healthy and heroic epochs, when such breadth and simplicity but repeats itself, it is the same. The character shines out in the music, which is but one of the many mirrors of the mind. But when ages of restlessness and feverishness supervene, or ages of weakness and pettiness, like the present, the craving for novelty produces rarities, and the art reflects the age down to details. And this was a petty age, and a subtle age; it was an age of quibbling and cavilling and hair-splitting. Common conversation delighted in abstract discussion. Men were much given to defining things. The Sophists stickled for the meanings of words, as if it were so much gold they were weighing—the precise signification of "justice," what the word "virtue" might properly be said to imply. Or else they would discourse for hours on the abstract idea of "truth," or the

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<sup>1</sup> It was at any rate to get some peculiar and highly artificial effect, for it was never done *ἡνίκ' ἡῦλον ἀπλάστως*, but only *ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν πλάσιν μετέβησαν*.

conditions that conditioned "certainty." And these things hummed in the Agora, and we have seen Euripides introducing them in his plays, and now they were in the very heyday of their favour. And these subtleties and hair-splittings of thought had their parallel or their consequence in other things as well. As men divided and subdivided thought, so they divided and subdivided sound—doing it or welcoming it when done, without any conscious appreciation of the connection between the two. Although when we think of it, the consequence seems a necessary one. And the subtleties of the Sophists are seen as the semitones of the scale, or rather as smaller subdivisions still than even semitones. For not only was the Chromatic with its 12 semitones in use, as we have said, but also two other forms of Chromatic, which had a still more artificial division of the intervals. And a strange and artificial perversion of the Diatonic had grown up, agreeably to the same spirit, and this we will first give. And it was called the Soft Diatonic, and only *once* in the whole octave was a full tone taken, and twice a semitone, and all the other intervals were fourths of tones. As we may see, for this is the perverted Diatonic scale, as it appeared at present in Greek music :—



<sup>1</sup> Aristides. p. 21.

And we have given it here to the centre part of the scale.

And the two forms of the Chromatic were still more finical and artificial. For the Soft Chromatic, which is the first one we will take, proceeded by  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a semitone at a time, thus:—



And the Hemiolian Chromatic, as it was called, which was the other form, by  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a semitone at a time, thus:—



Now it was to accommodate his flutes to these minutenesses of Music that Antigenides must needs change the time of cutting the flute reeds from September to June, in order to get crisp reeds, and small reeds with small bores, and that might give out these querulous intervals; and very likely the flute was

<sup>1</sup> Id. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek writers explain these varieties of scales by figures thus:— Let us suppose the Tetrachord as 60. Then the Enharmonic division is 6 + 6 + 48, *κατὰ δέσιν καὶ δέσιν καὶ δίτονον*. The Soft Chromatic, 8 + 8 + 44, *κατὰ δέσιν καὶ δέσιν καὶ τριημιτόνιον καὶ δέσιν*. The Hemiolian Chromatic, 9 + 9 + 42, *κατὰ δέσιν ἡμιόλιον καὶ δέσιν ἡμιόλιον καὶ τριημιτόνιον καὶ δέσιν*. The Ordinary (Tonizæan) Chromatic, 12 + 12 + 36, *καθ' ἡμιτόνιον καὶ ἡμιτόνιον καὶ τριημιτόνιον*. The Soft Diatonic, 12 + 18 + 30, *per hemitonium et tres dieses quadrentales et quinque dieses quadrentales*. The Ordinary (Syntono) Diatonic, 12 + 24 + 24, as we know.

becoming perverted to the piccolo form under these influences, though on this point we are not informed. And dexterity and skill in the littlenesses of playing would be the character of the flute-playing under such influences as these.

And what had the singers to say for themselves, in presence of these artificial and quibbling scales? And their style was, as we might expect it to be, distorted by graces, and very fastidious. And shakes and turns were so commonly employed, that Aristophanes could hear nothing else in his time,<sup>1</sup> and it was worse now. And to hear a singer singing at one of these mince-meat scales was "like treading on a nest of ants and seeing them all crawl about."<sup>2</sup> And this was the singing of Timotheus that this simile was about, and he was renowned for his ants' nests of intervals that he shook about your ears. And indeed we will not pursue the subject further, nor suffer ourselves to delay over the degradation of Greek Music, which we have seen in its glory: which Pherecrates, the comic poet, personifying as a woman, brings on the stage, with her body all beaten and disfigured, and complaining that her last days are indeed come. The beginning of her woes, she says, was when Melanippides brought the flute into such favour, that the flute-players became as good men as the poets. "And next Cinesias fairly spoilt me by the discordant trills he made in his strophes."<sup>3</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶν βωμολοχεύσαιτ' ἢ κάμψει τίνα καμπήν, οἷας οἱ νῦν &c. (Clouds.)

On the καμπή Cf. Philostratus. Vit. Soph. II. 28. εὐφωγίαν αἰσχύνων καμπαῖς ἀσμάτων αἷς κἂν ὑπορχήσαιτό τις τῶν ἀσελγαστέρων.

<sup>2</sup> ᾄδων ἐκτραπέλους μυρμηκίας.

<sup>3</sup> ἑξαρμονίους καμπὰς ποιῶν ἐν στροφαῖς.



Phrynis' interminable turns turned me ill, they did," and this is the Phrynis that Aristophanes speaks about, and he says his turns were so long they seemed as if they were never going to get round the post.<sup>1</sup> "And worst of all, Timotheus, with his ants' nests of intervals, he undressed me and undid me with his semitones and demitones."

And now we are to see a singular sight. For passing from this decline and decadence of Greek Music, and the circumstances under which it was perishing, we are to see its passage into another form, and how its dissolution was delayed by a change of front such as we may well wonder to behold. For it met its end, indeed, not by death, but by metempsychosis, or, being a phoenix, its ashes brought not corruption, but a new creature. For in Greece music could never die. But if it were denied life in one form, it would flourish in another. And Music being banished from Song, we are now to see Music pass into Speech.

This is what happens. It returns at periods, and chiefly at the ends of periods, as at the end of Paganism it was now returning, to the place from whence it came. And as it arose from the bosom of Speech, so it was now returning thither. And we may see this elsewhere and with other peoples than the Greeks alone. But with them especially so. For there is something in the nature of the Greek language, which inclines Speech from the first to musical expression, and leads readily to an alliance with Music. Which is but another way of saying, that the Greeks themselves were from the first so musical, that they unconsciously framed their language on a musical pattern, without knowing that

<sup>1</sup> *καμπὰς δυσκολοκάμπτους*, taking the metaphor from the race-course.

they were doing so. For, if we remember, when we were groping in those early days of Homer's time for the first setting and cohesion of those metres, which we have now traced through so proud a prime to their final decay, we found that the "Foot" was the union of two Accents, and the "Line" was the union of two Phrases, and both "Foot" and "Line" agreed in this, that they united opposites and combined contradictories, which is the Pythagorean expression for the Principle of Music.<sup>1</sup> For the Foot is the combination of a light accent with a heavy, the Arsis and Thesis, and the Line was the combination of the Up Phrase with the Down Phrase, or the Antecedent Phrase with the Consequent Phrase. And Music began with this uniting of contrasts, and how it went on to dualise everything, and got new forms by doubling, is what we have already shown, and need not repeat here—but this was the fundamental principle of its operations. Now if we turn to the Greek language we shall find this principle playing through it from the very first, and moulding it to musical form. For not only have we the perpetual *μὲν—δὲ*, which sort all sentences into pairs of contrasts, "though"—"yet," but also *πρῶτον—ἔπειτα*, which also contrast (though less sharply); *τε—καὶ*, which pair rather than contrast; and later on we get the eternal changes which are rung on *λόγω—ἔργῳ*, which is *μὲν—δὲ* ten times intensified, and are nearer the times we are writing of. For it was the Sophists that brought in this fashion of *λόγω—ἔργῳ*, which we find so eternally for instance in Thucydides; and the sophist Antipho, his writings are studded with never

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<sup>1</sup> ἐναντίων συναρμογή καὶ τῶν διχοφρονοούντων συμφρόνησις.

ending καὶ—καὶ, τε—καὶ, ἦ—ἦ, πότερον—ἦ, λόγῳ—ἔργῳ— and they taught men to balance clauses, and contrast clauses, and pair clauses, and, without knowing it, they were teaching them to think musically, and to speak in musical rhythm. And Gorgias of Leontinum was the man who brought this tendency to a head, and made an art of it. And the great axiom of Gorgias' style was precisely the Principle of Music, and its name is one that will be at once familiar—for the Principle of Music, appearing in Language, is known by the name of Antithesis.

And Gorgias taught men to construct their language in such a way that there was always a Thought and a Counter-thought, a Sentence and a foil to that sentence, which together made the Antithesis. And from him the orators got it. And taking this as the base of his system, he went on to develop it. And he introduced the *ισοκωλία*,<sup>1</sup> and the *παρίσῳσις*,<sup>2</sup> and *παρονομάσαι*, and *παρηχήσεις* into speaking, which were developments of the Antithesis, and proceeded on the same principle. And the *ισοκωλία* was the art of making the two sentences of equal length, which procured the same beautiful rhythm, as that which governed the Hexameter. And the *παρίσῳσις* was to make them correspond to one another exactly in form, as a pronoun at the beginning of the first must imply a pronoun at the beginning of the second, and a verb at a certain place in the sentence must have a verb at the same place in the antithetical sentence, or if it is a participle, there must be a participle there too. As that *παρίσον* of Antiph'o's, for instance, οὔτοι μὲν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐτίμων κατὰ τὴν συνθήκην, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφίλουν κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν,

<sup>1</sup> Athenæus. p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> Isocrates. p. 233.

where there is a pronoun to open the sentence, and a pronoun to open the second, and the accusative comes in the same place in both, that is, 3rd, and the Verb is 4th in the first sentence, and 4th also in the second. And the *παρονομασία* and *παρήχησις* was this, that words of similar formations should be sought, to match one another in the sentences, as a verb compounded with *ἀντὶ* in the 1st sentence should be matched with a verb compounded with *ἀντὶ* in the 2nd, or a derivative of *πολὺς* in the first sentence should require a derivative of *πολὺς* in the second—all these things being done to procure an easy flow of rhythm, and to mimic the melody of music in the symmetry of speech.

And Gorgias went on to add this very melody to his sentences, for he introduced what is known as the *ὁμοιοτέλευτα* into his sentences, by which they must both end the same, that is, they must rhyme with each other; and this was often used in melodious moments of expression with great effect, as, let us take that passage of Lysias for an example, *ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καὶ ἀγαπήσουσι, καὶ ἀκολουθήσουσι, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὶ ἡσθήσονται καὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστην χάριν εἴσουσιν*.<sup>1</sup>

And from Gorgias the orators got it. And although they used these devices with greater frugality, yet much of the melody of their rhetoric must be attributed to this. And Lysias we know was renowned for his mellifluous language. And Demosthenes—in Demosthenes whole verses are of constant occurrence. And with their beautiful voices, it was like some rhapsodist reciting, instead of orators haranguing. And their easy antitheses had the rhythm of musical melody. Whence in

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<sup>1</sup> Aristotle. Rhetoric. 3. 9. 9.

ancient art many orators are represented with a lyre hanging on their arm, to show that their speech was very music, and that their style was the style of song. And some of them indeed would have, while they were haranguing, a slave standing near with a pitch-pipe in his hand, who was to sound a note occasionally, that they might modulate their voices, and address them to tune.<sup>1</sup>

And orations were written in trilogies, like the tragedies had been. And tragedies were written by the orators as exercises in rhetoric. For the two things were so mixed up now, there was no distinguishing them.

And Isocrates was a great architect of oratory. They say his speeches sounded like beautiful harmony when they were spoken. And he comes a little before Demosthenes.

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<sup>1</sup> It is from Rome, certainly, that the account comes. Caius Gracchus had a slave for this purpose.







## CHAPTER II.


And Demetrius Phalereus was the last of the Attic Orators. He it was who instigated Ptolemy Soter to found the Alexandrian Library. And every vessel that came to the port of Alexandria had to send what books it had on board to the library. And this is the way the library increased so much. And the scholars of Alexandria turned their attention greatly to collecting and editing the ancient Greek poets. And there were editions of Homer made with great care. And the copies of the works of Sophocles and Æschylus, that were in the archives of Athens, were bought from the Athenians for the Alexandrian Library. And the work of editing and arranging went on with great care. And the critics of Alexandria, trying to preserve the beauties of Greek literature from perishing, often tried to preserve the beauties of the Greek language from perishing likewise. For whether it was that the harmonious tones of the orators had infused themselves into ordinary speech, or that a melodious mode of utterance not unlike the Chinese Sheng had arisen in speech—certain it is that the Greeks of the peninsula, and particularly the Athenians, were allowed on all hands to speak most melodiously, and attempts were made by the grammarians and critics of Alexandria to register these beautiful tones, which bathed the Greek language, and preserve them to the eye in literature. And among various attempts, that of the grammarian, Aristophanes, was the most happy. And he hit on this plan of registering the tones. Whenever the

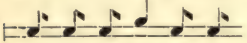
voice went up on a syllable, he placed an up mark on it, thus, /, which is written by a motion of the pen upwards, and is very happy because it imitates the motion of the voice. And when the voice went down on a syllable to its normal pitch again, he placed a down mark on that syllable, \, made by a motion of the pen downwards, which also imitates the motion of the voice down to its pitch again. And when the voice went both up and down on the same syllable, he combined the two, thus,  $\wedge$ . So that if we take a word such as *τοπος*, in which the voice went up on the first syllable, and down on the second, we shall write it, according to Aristophanes'

method, *τόπος*, which in music is . And a  
τό-πος

word such as *ισοτης*, in which the voice went up this time on the second syllable, we shall write it, according to Aristophanes' method, *ισότης*, which is in music


 — \ serving, as will be seen, for  
ι - σό - τής

the normal pitch, which we represent as , and therefore falling on every syllable except the one that had the Up mark on it, as *πὸλὺντὲλέστατός*,

. For there was only one  
πὸ - λὺν - τὲ - λέσ - τὰ - τὸς


rise of the voice in every word, and therefore only one Up mark in like manner. And this Up mark was called "the word's song" (the Prosody, *ῥῶδὴ πρὸς ῥῆμα*),<sup>1</sup> which we translate, "the Accent."


<sup>1</sup> In like manner the "instrument's *προσφῶδία*," that is, "the song which accompanied the instrument," was *ῥῶδὴ πρὸς κιθάραν*.


Now, not all words were so lively. Some had no song. *e.g.* ἐχθρος, "an enemy," had no song, but was ἐχθρὸς , and many more beside, that we could name. But the greater majority had all their Song, occurring on the second last syllable, or on the third last, these were the favourite places, and never on the last of all, except in the combined form,  $\wedge$ , which was now written with one sweep of the pen,

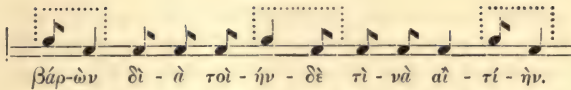
$\cap$  = .

And let us see how musical this registering of the Song made even the dullest prose appear, and taking an instance like the following:—  
μετα δε ταυτα Σαμον βασιλευς Δαρειος αιρει πολων  
πασεων πρωτην Ελληνιδων και βαρβαρων δια τοινηδε τινα  
αιτινη, which as it stands is dull and meaningless; let  
us write it by benefit of the Song, and we shall see  
that not only is there an irregular melody, which we  
promised, but also there is a rhythmic contour  
impressed on it, which perhaps is some clue to the  
occurrence of the Song where it does, on the second  
last and third last syllables of words, for as we write  
it now,


  
μὲ - τὰ δὲ ταῦ - τὰ Σά - μὸν βὰ - σὶ -

  
λεὺς Δὰ - ρεῖ - ὅς αἰ - ρέ - εἰ πὸ - λί - ὦν


  
πὰ - σέ - ὦν πρῶ-τῇν Ἐλ - λῇ - νί - δων καὶ βάρ -




we hear a constant play of Trochees, Tribrachs, Iambuses, Spondees, which had escaped us before, but which the occurrence of the Song on the critical syllables brings into strongish relief. And this may have been one reason for the Song always occurring where it did. Now we have said that the Song never fell on the last syllable of a word, unless it were in


the compound form,  $\cap$  =  And the reason

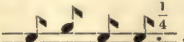
of this is plain, for if the object of the Song was to give an unconscious prominence to the rhythm of words, as we have suggested, it is plain that there is no foot of one syllable only, but at the least there must be two, and therefore the Song must never come later than the second syllable from the end. But there is another and a more important reason than this. For we know what Cadence is, and we remember that every Line had its cadence, and every Clause and Phrase had its cadence, where the voice fell for a moment of repose after the labour of sustaining the tone was over. And as it is in Lines and Phrases, so it is also in Sentences and even in Words; and the Voice naturally makes a trifling cadence at the end of every word, as it makes a marked one at the end of a Sentence or a Phrase, and that is why the Song never came on the last syllable—in order, that is to say, to admit of a natural cadence on that syllable. But why

the compound Song,  $\cap$  () was allowed where the other was not, is because it contains the Cadence in itself—it rises but to fall, and so the Cadence is

expressed as usual. And Aristophanes went on still further to preserve the music of the Greek language, by inventing signs for "Pauses," which were called *στιγμαὶ*, and answered to Rests in Music. And there were three kinds of *στιγμαὶ*, the *τελεία*, the *μέση*, and the *ὑπομέση*. And the *τελεία* was a little dot that was placed on the top of the word over its last letter, thus, *περίδρομος*, and this was the sign of a Perfect Pause, and meant to say that the end of the sentence had come. And I cannot but think that the effect of the Stigma was primarily to increase the length of the last syllable, and so rather prepare the ear for the pause than actually to indicate the pause itself. If which were the case we might well render the

Stigma as follows: *περίδρομος* =  And the two other *στιγμαὶ* were placed, the *μέση* halfway down the letter, indicating a shorter pause, thus

*περίδρομος* = , and the *ὑπομέση* at the bottom of the letter, indicating a still shorter pause

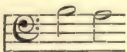
than the *μέση*, *περίδρομος* = . And

when these marks were used in annotating poetry, as they greatly were, for it was in a great measure to introduce order into the ruins of the poetry that Aristophanes laboured so, and invented these things, they would be associated with names which will appear very suggestive to us. For the Musical Sentence, which was the groundwork of all the Poetical Form, we have already in past pages described as the "Period" (*περίοδος*), and the members that composed it in sets of twos we have before known as "Colons" (*κῶλα* "members"), and these when they fell short of symmetrical length and were

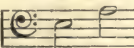


Acatalectic, we have now to know as "Commas," *κόμματα*—"clipt colons" we may translate it, for *κόμμα* means "a clipping." And now these stigmas of Aristophanes, used to punctuate the poetry, would naturally go the *τελεία*, or "full *στιγμή*," with the Period, the *μέση*, or "Half *στιγμή*," with the Colon, and the *ὑπομέση*, or "Quarter *στιγμή*," with the Comma.

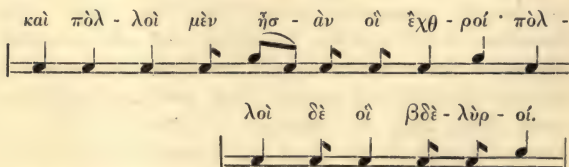
And now as we stand among the schools of Alexandria, and see a retreating Universe fast vanishing from our sight, consorting with men at present who are busily engaged in labelling and ticketing the fragments of its beauty, against a time that no one knows what forecasts he may make of it, let us speak for almost the last time of Greek music in its glory, and remember the two great schools, the Dorian and the Æolian, and what were their differences. And it is of the Cadence again we would speak, and show how the music had transfused itself into the Language, and still preserved its main characteristics, though the form they appeared in was homely and weak. And we have said that every word had its cadence, and the voice fell at the conclusion of the word, as formerly in music it fell at the end of the Line or the Period. But in Greek Music this was known as the Æolian Cadence, because it was so favourite with the Æolian singers, who brought their Phrases and their Periods to a

close with the natural and easy cadence, 

as in former pages we have told. But the Dorian singers used another and a more powerful Cadence,

which was the inverted one, , where the voice seemed to spurn repose; and this was as constant in the Dorian style, as the other in the

Æolian. Now how did this appear in language? And it was used by those melodious Greek speakers as unconsciously as the other, and just too in the right place. For it was used at the end of sentences, to take off the weakness of an attenuated close. For when a songless word, which may have been of many syllables, and there were such words, came at the end of a sentence, then, instead of having a natural and audible cadence to close the sentence with, the sentence would flutter and droop long before its time. And this weakness was counteracted by the invariable habit of making a rise on the last syllable of the sentence, which mimicked the Dorian Cadence to a nicety. And in this way a songless word received for once a Song, but only when it came at the end of a sentence, as we may see :—



Such are the pale reflections of the past that we are moving among now. And Aristophanes also invented a method to record the breathings, or aspirations, "*Spirits, πνεύματα*," of words, which are indeed Spirits to the Song's Body, and of these there were two kinds, the Hard and the Soft, and he invented (') to serve for the Hard, and (') for the Soft. And of these, instances have been given in the course of the above. And these were the labours of Aristophanes.

And his pupil, Aristarchus, collated and annotated

the works of Homer, and set breathings and accents on every word, according to the system of Aristophanes. And the music of Homer indeed was irretrievably lost long before, nor was this an attempt to restore it, but it gives us exactly the way in which the poetry was read, according to the melodious pronunciation of the day.

And the teachers no longer taught in the gymnasiums, as they had used to do in the palmy days of Athens, and indeed there was only one gymnasium in all Alexandria, so we may see how life had altered since we spoke of it then. And that beautiful blending of gymnastic with education, which alone can produce strength in thought and music in expression, because it grapples body and mind together, and prevents the unhealthy preponderance of either of these two components of our nature, was now no more. And by consequence poets were no more, and even orators were no more. But it was an age of Criticism, which means an age of stagnation, when men fold their hands, and pretend that the end of life is to survey what others have done.

And the stars of Alexandria were critics and commentators; as the Pleiad, which was the constellation of Alexandrian genius, and was composed of 7 editors and commentators. And turning to the music, how do we find it? And the great names of Alexandrian music are Porphyry, Jamblichus, Nicomachus, Ptolemy, and Alypius. And the enumeration of these names will show us the strength of the Alexandrian genius, and also its weakness. And how strong is it, and what do we not owe it, when we think that we derive our knowledge of the entire Greek Music almost solely from the writings of these men! And on the contrary how weak is it, when the masters of its music are

merely the commentators and compilers of the labours of others! And indeed, if we may speak without being suspected of jesting, the Egyptians, who in Alexandria had blended with the Greeks, were always noted for their skill in embalming, and this commentating and editing was but the intellectual aspect of the same faculty. And these men that we have mentioned, laboriously deduced the principles and science of the Greek music from the works of the musicians that they had access to—not indeed showing the editorial spirit so much as others that we have mentioned, as Aristarchus, Hephæstion, and others, but rather the scientific spirit—of whom Alypius wrote a large treatise in 7 parts on Ancient Greek Music, of which only one part has come down to us; and the titles of the several parts we know, and the 1st was on Sounds, the 2nd on Intervals, the 3rd on Systems, the 4th on Genera, the 5th on Tones, the 6th on Modulation, and the 7th on Composition. And the work of Nicomachus was an *Encheridion*, or Handbook, of Music, which is particularly valuable for the light it affords us on the discoveries of Pythagoras. And Jamblichus we already know as the divine biographer of Pythagoras, and are now to know him as a most suggestive writer on the nature of Sound. And Porphyry was a commentator on Ptolemy, who was the greatest musician of them all. In Ptolemy, indeed, we may well study the Alexandrian genius at its height, for in him it reaches originality, and we may observe from the originality of Ptolemy the dryness that had now beset Greek thought, even at its best, and how there is no blood but only dry bones to be found therein. For Ptolemy indeed indulges in the same speculations which Pythagoras

had engaged in centuries before. He too strove to weave the world in music, and to find its threads running through every part of thought and life. But in place of poetical visions and noble imaginations, glimpses indeed of nature's mysteries, what artificiality, what dryness repel us from the speculations of Ptolemy! For let us hear him speaking about this Natural Music, if we may call it so; and he will tell us, in speaking of the Soul, that there are three parts of the Soul, the Intellectual part, the Sensitive part, and the Habitulative part, and that the Intellectual part is the Octave, the Sensitive the 5th, and the Habitulative the 4th.<sup>1</sup> But for this arrangement we only get the fanciful reason, that the Sensitive is nearer to the Intellectual than the Habitulative is, and therefore the 5th falls to it as a matter of course; and the 4th to the Habitulative, because the 5th is nearer the 8ve than the 4th is. And afterwards he theorises thus about it—those creatures that have Habit have not always Sense, and those who have Sense have not always Intellect: but on the other hand those who have Sense have always also Habit, and those who have Intellect have both Sense and Habit—and therefore the 4th, 5th and 8ve do correspond each with each as aforesaid, since where the 4th is, there is not always the 5th, and where the 5th is, there is not always the 8ve: but on the contrary, where the 5th is, there is always also the 4th, and where the 8ve is, there is also both 5th and 4th.<sup>2</sup> Which, like the former is unreal and idle. And then he will go on to pursue this fanciful parallel to death, and since

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<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy. Harmonics. III. Cap. 5.    <sup>2</sup> Ptolemy. Harmonics. III. Cap. 5.

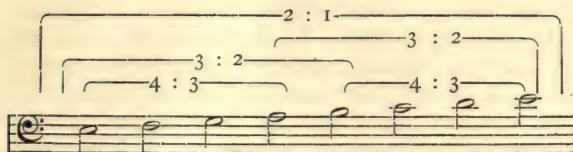


there are three species of 4th, differing from one another by the position of their semitone, so there must be three species of Habit to correspond; and four species of 5th, four Senses to correspond in like manner—to get at which he has to reduce the usual complement of five by one, conceiving Touch to be common to all; and seven kinds of 8ve, seven kinds of Intellect in like manner.<sup>1</sup> With much more of the same kind, as when he pairs Physics, Mathematics, and Theology, with the Enharmonic, Chromatic, and Diatonic genus respectively, &c., &c. All of which has no foundation in fancy, and like the rest is unreal and idle.

In such an atmosphere of thought as this, and among such men, it was natural that when Didymus revived the doubts which Aristoxenus had expressed on the Pythagorean doctrine of the Scale, the chance of controversy should be eagerly welcomed, and the whole subject laboriously discussed. And we remember how Pythagoras had established the ratios of the Consonances, that is, the 8ve,  $2 : 1$ , the fourth,  $4 : 3$ , the fifth,  $3 : 2$ , and also that equivalence of tones and numbers which he had laid down, and the regulation of the purity of Intervals by means of the Monochord, which was one string divided by a moveable bridge into the proportions of the numbers as he had determined, and which was the basis of all; for he had said that to get the purity of an 8ve we must divide the string into two parts, as  $2 : 1$ , and to get a 4th, as  $4 : 3$ , and a 5th, as  $3 : 2$ , basing all on the ratios of numbers, and laying down the scale as under,

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<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy. *Harmonics*. III. Cap. 5.



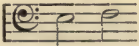
and this had been accepted by all the Greek world. But in course of time there had arisen some men who refused to accept this system of measurement, not, as I imagine, in the first instance at least, because they deemed it as at all containing any touch of error, but because they held it in a great degree unnecessary. Of whom the chief was Aristoxenus, who took up his ground on the following reasons: For there is a simpler way, he said, of determining the intervals of the Scale, and the measure of part and part, than by employing the abstruseness of mathematical demonstration. For the ear is now sufficiently educated to decide on such matters for itself, without going any further afield. For let us ask, said Aristoxenus, how the scale is composed (and he speaks of the small scale of Pythagoras, which was always the scientific illustration). And we will consider it as composed of a 4th and a 5th,



a 4th from E to A, and a 5th from A to E. Now by how much does this 5th exceed the 4th? And it exceeds it by the distance of A to B, that is, by a tone, for A to E is a 5th, but to get a 4th we must start from B to E, and the difference between the two is A B, which is a tone. Now then having discovered what a tone is, and having familiarised the ear with its dimensions, we may use the tone

as our basis of measurement, and define an 8ve as that which is composed of 6 tones. But since the 4th and 5th contain semitones, and therefore cannot be measured like the 8ve can, let us suppose the Tone, which is the basis of measurement, to be divided into 2 Semitones, and let us familiarise our ear with the dimensions of a Semitone. And substituting this as our basis of measurement, we will define the 8ve as that which is composed of 12 Semitones, the 5th as that which is composed of 7, and the 4th of 5, in like manner. And to get any of these intervals we have simply to add Semitone to Semitone till the last is reached of the agreed total, and then we have the perfect interval we desire.

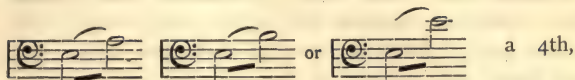
But now let us see into what a gulf this empirical and shallow method of handling the Scale plunged Aristoxenus and his followers. For it is plain that in this handling of the Semitones, he had assumed that all Semitones were equal to one another. Whereas it had been the doctrine of Pythagoras that all were not equal to each other; who had laid it down that Semitones were of two kinds, Greater Semitones and Lesser Semitones, and he had said

that the interval from  in the scale was

by no means half a tone, but much less than half; and he had expressed it by the ratio of 256 : 243, calling it the *Limma*, or "Residuum,"<sup>1</sup> while the distance it lacked of being a complete tone, he had called the *Apotome*, which was much greater than it,<sup>2</sup> and these were the Greater and Lesser Semitones

<sup>1</sup> Gaudentius. *Harmonica Introductio*. p. 15.      <sup>2</sup> Id.

which he intended. So that to measure



5th, or 8ve, all of which contain this interval, by the addition of equal semitones, is purely fallacious and idle, let alone the fact that in the Diatonic Scale at any rate, two semitones never occur together at all, and so, strictly speaking, the experiment can never even be made.

And this controversy which we have stated here was carried on with warmth at Alexandria for a very long time, and in justice to the Alexandrians it must be said, that the leaders of their music without exception espoused the cause of Pythagoras, and the most lucid demonstrations of his theories were offered, and the doctrines that he had inculcated received their final confirmation, now for the last time; for other ideas were astir in the great world beyond, and Greek Music was dying, and already the chill of death was upon it. And this is the way that Ptolemy demonstrated the quantification of the *Limma*, or Lesser Semitone, as laid down by Pythagoras:—

Let the number 1536, and after that its epogdoan, 1728, be taken to express a tone; and again the epogdoan of 1728, which is 1944, to express another tone: then the numbers, 1536 and 1944, will stand for the Ditone. Now since the Diatessaron is hemiqlian, *i.e.*, 4 : 3, it is therefore necessary to seek a number that shall contain 4 of those parts, of which 1536 is three; and this can be no other than 2048. So that the interval, whereby the diatessaron exceeds the ditone, is in the ratio of 2048 : 1944, *i.e.*, 256 : 243. And next to judge of the magnitude of this interval. Let the epogdoan of 1944, *viz.*, 2187,

be taken for a third tone. And let us then enquire the difference between the ratios, 2187 : 2048, and 2048 : 1944. And the first of these two ratios will be found the greater of the two, for 2187 exceeds 2048 by more than  $\frac{1}{15}$ th, and by less than  $\frac{1}{14}$ th part; whereas 2048 exceeds 1944 by more than  $\frac{1}{19}$ th and by less than  $\frac{1}{18}$ th; and consequently, that which together with the ditone completes the diatessaron, is the lesser part of the third tone, as Pythagoras has said.<sup>1</sup>

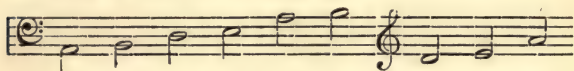
And there was another and a greater than he, a man of Alexandria, who had demonstrated more perfectly and much more copiously the truth of the Pythagorean tenets. For who is this figure, bending down over the sand, and tracing lines and circles with trembling hand? Is it in such keeping as this that we find Greek Music now? Then indeed its end has come. The best type of the Greek thought of the time, and beautiful exponent of a clay cold energy—Euclid, the philosopher, who has ratified for all time the wisdom of Pythagoras, and brought in the aid of Mathematics to canonise the dead Music. And his demonstrations are exact and geometrical, and he proceeds step by step from theorem to theorem to build up the architecture of his mathematic, and Music becomes with him and his school the recreation of geometry, the dreamland of mathematic fancy, and he makes his music of angles and lines. And he proceeds, as we have said, from theorem to theorem, accumulating truth step by step, beginning with theorems of the magnitude of intervals, and easy propositions of the subtractions and additions of

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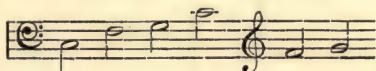
<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy's Harmonics. Book I. Cap. 10.



intervals, and so on through their ratios, as of Hemiolian to Epogdoan, and Epitrites to that Hemiolian, until at last he culminates with an exact mathematic demonstration of the Pythagorean doctrine of the Monochord, and how the whole Greek scale may be evolved from the proportions of one single string, exactly as Pythagoras had said. And this proposition we must now give; and it is divided into two parts, and in the first he demonstrates the evolution of the notes



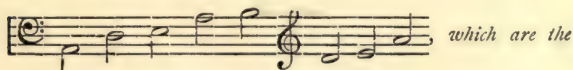
which were the Principal notes of the Scale, or the Fixed notes, as Pythagoras had called them, because they were uninfluenced by the occurrence of the Enharmonic genus. And in the second, he demonstrates the evolution of the remaining notes,



And these two propositions we will now give.

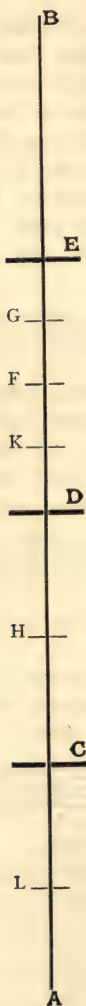
#### THEOREM A.

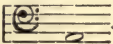
*The Monochord of Pythagoras contains, in just proportion of the moveable bridge, the notes*

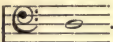


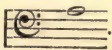
*Fixed Notes of the Greek Scale.*

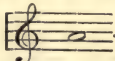
Let the length of the Monochord be A B, and let it be divided into four equal parts at the points, C, D, E.

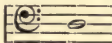


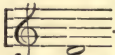
Then A B is the gravest sound, that is, the Proslambanomenos, .

And since A B is the Epitrite to C B ( $4 : 3$ ), C B will be the Diatessaron of A B, that is, .

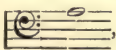
Again, since A B is double of D B ( $2 : 1$ ), D B will be the octave of A B, viz. .


And since A B is twice double of E B ( $4 : 1$ ), E B will be the double octave of A B, that is, .

Next, let C B be bisected in the point F. Then C B is double of F B ( $2 : 1$ ). But C B was .

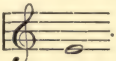
Therefore, F B is the octave of C B, that is, .

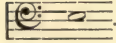
And from the whole, D B, cut off a third part, D G. Then D B will be Hemiolian to D G ( $3 : 2$ ), that is, G B will be the


Diapente of D B. But D B is .

therefore G B will be .

Next make G H equal to G B. Then the whole, H B, will be double of the part, G B.

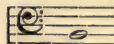
But G B was shown to be .

Therefore H B is .

Again, take away H K, the third part of H B. Then the whole, H B, will be Hemiolian to the remainder, K B, that is, K B will be its fifth .

Lastly, from the whole, A K, cut off L K, equal to K B. Then the whole, L B, will be double of its part,

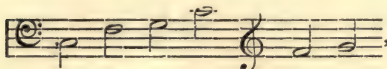
K B, that is, it will be the octave *in basso*,



In this way all the Fixed Notes of the Scale are shown to be contained in the Monochord. Q.E.D.

#### THEOREM B.

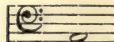
*The Monochord of Pythagoras contains likewise, by similar adjustment of the bridge, the notes,*



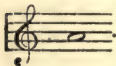
*which are the*

*Moveable, or Optional, Notes of the Greek Scale.*

Let the length of the Monochord be again A B. Let the whole A B be the Proslambanomenos,

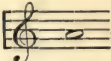


and from A B, the greater, cut off C B, the less, making C B the fourth part of A B, that is, its double octave,

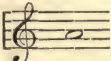


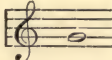
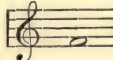




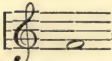

Divide C B, which is , into eight equal parts,

and from the remainder of the line cut off a part, C D, equal to one of them, so that the whole, D B, may be Epogdoan to C B (9 : 8). And again divide the whole, D B, into eight equal parts, and from the remainder, D A, cut off a part, F D, equal to one of them. Then in the whole, D B, the Epogdoan of C B, which is D B, will be a tone lower than C B. And in the whole, F B, the Epogdoan of D B, which is F B, will be a tone lower


than D B. But C B is  (constr.); therefore

D B is , and F B is . Next divide

F B into three equal parts, and from the remainder, F A, cut off a part, F G, equal to one of those parts. Then the whole, G B, will be the Epiteute of F B, that is, F B will be the diatessaron of G B *in alt.* And since F B is

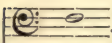
, G B will be the fourth *in basso*, .

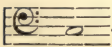
Again, bisect G B at C, and make G E equal to one of the two parts, so that the whole, E B, will thus give a

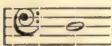
Diapente (3 : 2) to one of them. But G B is ;

therefore E B will be the fifth *in basso*, . Then


from the remainder, E A, cut off a part, E H, making E H equal to E G. And then the whole line, H B, is divided into four parts, H E, E G, E C, C B, all equal each to each. And since the whole, H B, comprising the four parts, H E, E G, E C, C B, is Epiteute to E B, which only comprises three, H B<sup>o</sup> is Diatessaron *in basso*

to E B. But E B was . Therefore H B is

. In the same way it may be shown, by taking the division of the line, as at C B in Proposition A., which is

, and dividing C B into four equal parts, at

M, N, Q, since the whole, C B, comprises the four parts, C M, M N, N Q, Q B, but M B comprises only three of them, therefore M B is Diatessaron *in alt.* to C B,

that is, it is . In this way all the Optional Notes

of the Scale are shown to be contained in the Monochord. Q.E.D.

And if we continued our accounts of the Greek Music any further now, it would be but to give a series of such demonstrations and figures as these, lines traced in the sand, and umbratile studies of philosophers. For on studying the Music of the Alexandrian School, we find that Music has passed from being Music, and has hardened into the Ideal Mathematic.



## CHAPTER III.

Now after this time it happened, and in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, that a merchant vessel, bound from Greece to Italy, was beating about off the coast of Alexandria, unable to make way against the contrary winds which had driven it so far out of its course. And Epitherses, the father of Æmilian the rhetorician, was on board, who told the story, and other passengers, and also the pilot, Thamous, who was an Alexandrian by birth. And it was midnight of the third day, when suddenly the wind abated, and there was a dead calm. And while they all were wondering at this sudden change, a voice was heard in the air, and they were far from land, and out of sight of vessel or of any human thing. And the voice called aloud, "The Great God Pan is dead! The Great God Pan is dead!" And immediately the air was filled with a noise of weeping and wailing, that was terrible to hear. And when they came in due course to Italy, they published to the people what they had heard; and again those shrieks and weepings filled the air as they were telling the news, for they stood on the forecastle of the vessel, and so told the people on shore. And Pan was the son of Mercury and Dryope, and had been the god of shepherds and of music. But in the later and mystical ages of the Pagan religion, he had been chosen as the typical god in whom men saw summed up and centring the powers and attributes of all the others, and he had

come to be regarded as a type, and even as a synonym of the whole Pantheon. And on the same night that Pan had died, Apollo was seen to leave the steep of Delphi, vanishing in the mist that sighed around him. And they say that in the thickets and the woods the Nymphs were heard mourning and lamenting; and they tore their hair, and beat their breasts, for they, too, soon were to pass away.

And the story of the seamen soon travelled to Rome, and caused much comment at the time; but the luxurious Romans, given over to indolence and pleasure, were not the people to regard it long; and the tale of the Alexandrian boatmen became a piece of idle tattle, to be put away and forgotten when the novelty wore off. And there was much intercourse between Rome and Alexandria at this time, and here must we follow the steps of music, to see, indeed, not merely the reappearance for a while of the gay Greek Music, but a general mixing and blending of all the musics of the Pagan world. For under the arches of the Campus might have been heard the sambucas and gingrases of the Syrian dancing girls,<sup>1</sup> and beating in the taverns hard by the drums and cymbals of the tipsy priests of Tyre,<sup>2</sup> and in the theatres the flutes and lyres, and songs of Grecian chorus-singers, and winding along to the temples of Isis and Serapis bands of Egyptian musicians with harps and sistrums<sup>3</sup>—all the world's

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<sup>1</sup> Et cum tilbicine chordas  
Obliquas . . . et ad circum jussas prostare puellas.

<sup>2</sup> In magna popina,  
Et resupinati cessantia tympana Galli.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the procession of Serapis in Apuleius. *Metam.*

minstrelsy was there, in this great churning-press of creeds that men called Rome.

And where shall we take a central point, or from what post of observation survey this last great scene of the Pagan music? And at the theatres we shall find its rallying ground, which now no longer served, as once in Greece, as the temples of the national religion, but as places of spectacle and amusement. And the change was confessed by the very structure of the theatres themselves. For there was no altar of Bacchus now in the centre of the Orchestra, and the chorus no longer made their evolutions round it, or indeed in the Orchestra at all, but on the stage now; and that great flat open space was filled with seats, that were reserved for senators and great men, so that the orchestra scarcely differed from the rest of the theatre, except in the seats being lower down, and almost in a pit compared to the others. And the reason for all these changes was because not only had the plays lost their religious significance, but they had also greatly changed in character. For while in Greece it was the Comedy and Tragedy that were the spectacles of the theatre, in Rome it was by preference the Pantomimes. And these Pantomimes were a development of the old Latin *Mimus*, or "Farce," which was a sort of rustic drama that had grown up among the country people. But in the Pantomime, the *Mimus* received a very peculiar development; for all speaking and singing gradually dropped out, and nothing but the mere acting was left, and the Pantomime, as we find it now, was dumb show. This was the last stage of the Pagan drama, and now we see it had lost its voice. And of Pantomimes there were three kinds: there was the simple Pantomime, in which no one took part but



the actors or actor, for sometimes there was only one, and by their dancing and gestures they endeavoured to present the tale of the drama to the audience.<sup>1</sup> And next there was the Pantomime with music, in which a band of musicians were stationed on the stage, who accompanied the acting of the Pantomimist with their music.<sup>2</sup> And lastly there was the Chorus Pantomime,<sup>3</sup> which is the one we shall particularly select for description, because in it we see for the last time the shadowy outlines of the old Greek drama, and it probably had arisen from a union of the Latin Pantomime with the Greek drama itself. And in this as in the Tragedy there were Chorus and Actors, only the Chorus took no part in the action of the play, but stationed on the stage they formed a kind of orchestra, part Vocal, and part Instrumental, which accompanied with music and song the gestures and dancing of the actors. And the song that the Chorus sang was the narrative of the pantomime, to which the actors set suitable motions. Indeed in this decline and decrepitude of the drama we have got back to its state of infancy again, for this is precisely the form of that *Hyporcheme*, which helped with other things to give the start to Tragedy, in which the Chorus sang a song, and the exarchs, or leaders, of the Chorus set suitable motions to it. And the instruments the chorus used were worthy of the pomp and pageantry of Rome, and also of that Oriental love of din and roar, which in Rome appeared so strongly. And the Chorus were half singers, half instrumentalists,

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<sup>1</sup> Calliachus. De ludis scenicis. In Sallengre. II. 754.

<sup>2</sup> Ad tibiae sonum, &c. Id.

<sup>3</sup> Fabulas, quas præcinebant cantores, referebant. Id. Cf. also Cassiodorus. I. Variarum E. 51. cantorum carmen exponit &c.

and the instruments they used were these: Cymbals, Gongs, Flutes, Pipes, Gigantic Lyres, Castanets, Rattles, Clattering Shells, and Foot Castanets.<sup>1</sup> And the Cymbals were small concave cymbals, that almost fitted in the palms of the hand, and yet they made a loud clashing noise.<sup>2</sup> And the Gongs were generally known by the name of "Vinegar Jar Gongs," (*Acetabula*), because in shape they were so much like vinegar jars. And they were made of brass or even of silver,<sup>3</sup> and gave a rich sonorous sound when struck, "*cum suavitate tinnitum*" says Cassiodorus, "they clashed most pleasantly." And the Flutes and Pipes were much like the Greek Pipes which we have before described, but some of the pipes were different. For some of them were bagpipes. For long ago in the fields of Latium had the shepherds discovered the art of fitting their pipes into a bladder or bag, which should act as a wind chest, and greatly lighten the labour of blowing.<sup>4</sup> And it is strange that the Romans alone, and another people of antiquity besides, whom they greatly resembled, should alone have hit on this mechanical invention. This other people

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<sup>1</sup> Salmasius draws the picture: "alii tibiis caneant, alii vocibus concineant, alii fistulis sibilant, alii cymbala concrepant, alii pede sonant." Calliachus gives the instruments as Tibiæ, Fistulæ, Citharæ, Cymbala, Scabilla, Testulæ, Acetabula.

<sup>2</sup> That these common cymbals of the marbles, &c., were the ones used by the chorus, see Calliach. on Nonnius, v. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ænea et argentea*, says Cassiodorus (*De Mus. Ant.*). The same in St. Isidore's *Origins*, III. 22. 1. That they were *percussionalia*, see Cassiodorus. loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> As the boor in Virgil,

Post epulas et pocula, multicolorem  
Ventriculum sumpsit, buccasque inflare rubentes  
Incipiens oculos aperit, ciliisque levatis  
Multoties alto flatum e pulmonibus haustum  
Nunc huc nunc illuc digito saliente.

were the Assyrians, also like the Romans noted for their skill in mechanical arts. The Assyrians too had the bagpipe,<sup>1</sup> although when we were speaking of them we purposely omitted it, in order to say it here. And it seems that the same cause led both these peoples to their discovery—for it was the delight in loud sound that led them, which the bagpipe can give in ten or twenty times the volume which the ordinary pipe can. And a similar reason led the Romans to treat their ordinary pipes after a manner peculiarly their own. For we have said that the Roman pipes were much like the Greek. And so they were in general shape and length. But then they were much stouter, and were bound with brass, and in sound the Roman pipe rivalled the trumpet.<sup>2</sup> And the Gigantic Lyres that we have mentioned were also like the Greek in shape, but much larger and more powerful.<sup>3</sup> Now the Castanets were made of a reed divided into two by a slit from the top extending half way down, very much like the Greek gamma,  $\gamma$ , and these two split pieces were struck against each other, the instrument being held by the single piece at the bottom. "*Rauci calami*" they were called, and made a loud clattering sound.<sup>4</sup> The Rattles were brass rings attached to iron rods.<sup>5</sup> The Castanets were sometimes made of brass, and tricked up with bits of crockery, wood, &c.<sup>6</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> See Engel's *Music of Most Ancient Nations*, et alibi.

<sup>2</sup> It was 'tubæ æmula,' says Horace. Also 'orichalco vincta.' Id.

<sup>3</sup> Calliachus. *De ludis scenic.* in Sallengre II.

<sup>4</sup> Ad cubitum raucos excutients calamos (Virgil's *Copa*). I have seen this translated as if the bagpipe were intended by Virgil. The error seems a silly one, and is merely noticed here with a view to its correction.

<sup>5</sup> Cælius, folio 1049.

<sup>6</sup> Ib.

Shells ("Testæ") were rattles of crockery-ware or shells.<sup>1</sup> But most remarkable were the Foot Castanets. They were great clattering Fans, or Castanets of wood, that were worked by the foot, and generally in exact time to the steps of the dancer.<sup>2</sup> For all the time that this orchestra was singing and playing, the actors were carrying on their dumb show to the audience, endeavouring to express by their motions and gestures the action of the narrative that the chorus was singing.<sup>3</sup> And these chorus pantomimes were got up on the most stupendous scale. And they say that there were sometimes more people on the stage than there were in the theatre itself,<sup>4</sup> for what with the immense pageants of actors, and the great choruses of singers and instrumentalists, the stage was full. "The passages are full of singers," says an eye witness, "the orchestra is thronged with trumpets, and every kind of pipe and musical instrument peals from the stage."<sup>5</sup> There were interludes of instrumental music, "*entr'actes*," and overtures of flutes alone.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vid. Forcellini in voc.

<sup>2</sup> This is the *ποδοκτυπία*, which we read of. There has been much dispute as to what this really was. Salmasius will have it that the *ποδόκτυποι* were men with wooden slippers or clogs on, "*lignæ soleæ*," and he translates *ποδοκτυπεῖν* as "*pede sonabant*." Calliachus endeavours to make a wind instrument out of it, but I cannot see how. The conjecture in the text would make it an instrument not unknown even yet among the Italian peasantry, if slightly divergent perhaps from the ancient form. The Italian and Tyrolese method of working the drum by the foot may be seen in the streets of our own towns.

<sup>3</sup> *Cantorum carmen exponit, et per signa composita, quasi quibusdam litteris, edocet intuentis aspectum.*

<sup>4</sup> Seneca. Epist. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Ib.

<sup>6</sup> The overtures were descriptive of the action of the play that was to follow, not however so much in the way of "programme music," as probably by embodying certain songs, the words of which were

But what these trumpeters in the orchestra were for, was to sound a tucket or flourish before the curtain drew up. "Drew up," we phrase it, but with them it drew down, rolling down on a roller into a recess under the stage, which also is the more artistic way, for by rolling down instead of drawing up, it let the heads of the actors be first seen, instead of what we see; and similarly at the end of the play, the least graceful part of their persons was the first to be concealed. And this is the pantomime of "Paris," as it was seen by one at the time. "At the sound of the trumpets the curtain rolled down, and the hangings were drawn together, and the stage was laid bare to the eyes of the spectators. The scene was a wooden mountain, and a very high one, planted with shrubberies and green trees, from its top a fountain flowing, and real water was trickling down the side. A few kids were cropping the herbage, and a youth was shepherding them, dressed in the Phrygian style, with a golden diadem on his head. A beautiful boy was also on the stage, naked but for a scarf that hung from his left shoulder. He was the mark of every eye for his beautiful yellow hair, among which were little golden wings. This was Mercury, as the caduceus that he carried showed him to be. He ran with a dancing step, and, carrying in his right hand an apple stuck with spangles, offered it to Paris, and announced to him in signs that Jupiter had entrusted him with the task of deciding who was the most beautiful of the

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familiar to the audience and contained allusions either to the general character or to the actual personages of the play itself. The passage in Donatus will however admit of both explanations: "*hujusmodi carmina ad tibias fiebant, ut his auditis multi ex populo discerent quam fabulam acturi essent scenici.*"



goddesses, and that this apple was to be the prize of beauty. On his departure a girl of noble countenance entered, with sceptre and crown. This was Juno. And then another who was Minerva, as her helmet told us. And still another who we knew was Venus, and she was perfectly naked except that a silken scarf covered her middle, the fringe of which the busy wind would now blow back and now blow to her, and either way it showed its impudence. Her body was pure white, and lovely to look upon. And now the virgins, their attendants came dancing in; but Juno was attended by Castor and Pollux, and by a band of stately matrons. Juno, to the modulations of the music, promised the shepherd, by modest signs, that she would bestow such and such on him, if he adjudged her the prize of beauty. And next came Minerva, making promises likewise, but two boys, Terror and Fear, danced with drawn swords around her, and clashed their arms; and since it was renown in war which she promised, the pipes struck up the Dorian Mode, tantiveying in the manner of trumpets. And next came Venus sweetly smiling, amid the applause of all the spectators, and surrounded by a crowd of tender little girl boys (*teretes et lacteos puellōs*), and you would have thought them real cupids, with their smooth fair faces and little wings and tiny arrows. And they bore shining torches before Venus, as if she were going to consecrate a marriage. And virgins, too, in troops came dancing—the lovely Graces, and the rosy Hours, scattering flowers and garlands, and soothing the queen of pleasure with the tresses of the Spring. Now then the flutes pealed out; and with a florid Lydian strain they charm the souls of the spectators, while Venus begins to step to Paris. The graceful

undulations of her back, the flowing of her form, the arching of her neck, and all in time to the delicate warbling of the flutes—can you wonder that the apple was her easy prize?"<sup>1</sup>

Such was the wanton and lascivious spectacle that had taken the place of the ancient Tragedy in Pagan life. And it was supported by all the pomp and wealth and partiality of Rome. The emperor Caligula, was such an admirer of the pantomimist, Mnester, that he would get up and hush the slightest whisper among the audience, while Mnester was dancing. And similarly Domitian with Paris; and Hylas, also, was another imperial favourite, who received as great honour as these. Augustus would have banished the Pantomimes from the state, had it not have been for the prayers of Mæcenas, who was so in love with the dancer, Bathyllus, that he could not think to let him go. Pylades in the Tragic Pantomime, Bathyllus in the Comic, were mighty names in their day, and represented almost influences of state. And the dance that Bathyllus was renowned for, was the Cordax, or "Licentious Dance," that was danced with loose garments, and tremulous enamoured motions of the body, the sight of which inflamed the wanton crowd to roars of wild applause. And the theatre echoed with shouts, as Bathyllus danced his licentious dance, the favourite of Mæcenas, the emperor's friend. But the actors were generally dressed, the men, in a tight-fitting costume and a little cloak that came down to their middle,<sup>2</sup> while the women wore but one thin garment, that clung to their figures and allowed the form and motions of their body

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<sup>1</sup> Apuleius. *Golden Ass*. Cap. 29. 30. sq.

<sup>2</sup> Dimidiasque nates, says Martial, *Gallica palla tegit*.

to be seen no less than if they had been quite naked.<sup>1</sup> And after a time they discarded even this, and appeared quite naked on the stage,<sup>2</sup> as we have seen Venus in the pantomime of Paris. And the Apocinus was a pantomime that was danced by two girls, one of whom was Myrrhine and the other Thryallis. And the subject of it was a contest between the two, which should show her figure best. And they were dressed in wrappers of transparent Coan silk, and the naked body could be spied through the transparent dress. And Myrrhine looses her girdle, and shouts of applause roar through the theatre—but yet Thryallis will outdo her, and receive the prize.<sup>3</sup> And there was a pantomime called Aphrodite, and the actress imitated the languishing of Venus.<sup>4</sup> And another called Adonis, in which the loves of Venus and Adonis were played on the stage.<sup>5</sup> And there was the Leda pantomime, in which a swan was introduced on the stage;<sup>6</sup> and Bathyllus would often take the part of Leda, half naked and dressed like a woman, for he had a smooth and beautiful face, and a delicate skin, and he would play even Venus herself, and quite deceive the audience.<sup>7</sup> And Europa, in the pantomime of Europa, was often played by men,<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This was the subecula. For a description of its appearance, see the Scholiast on Valerius Maximus. X. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See Julius Pollux on the Lamprotera and Mimetic Dances, IV. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Arnobius describes this contest of the Apocinus with his customary minuteness.

<sup>4</sup> Jerome's Epistle, De Hilarione. It is principally to the Fathers that we owe our descriptions of these various pantomimes.

<sup>5</sup> Arnobius. VII.

<sup>6</sup> Prudentius, Perist. X. *Cynus stuprata peccat inter pulpita.* Arnobius also alludes to this pantomime by name.

<sup>7</sup> *Mulier nempe ipsa videtur Non persona loqui; vacua et plana omnia dicas Infra ventriculum et tenui distantia rima.*

<sup>8</sup> Arnobius. VII.

and Ganymede, in the pantomime of that name, by men or beautiful boys, that came naked on the stage.

And country girls, coming up to town, had their morals corrupted at the theatres, for there was no sitting there for long and remaining pure. Tuccia, Thymele, and a village beauty from Apulia, coming up to Rome to see the sights of the town, make a party of pleasure one afternoon to the Pantomime, and are initiated into the most hidden mysteries of mischief before they have been half an hour there. It was the pantomime of "Leda" that they chanced to attend, and Bathyllus was acting the leading rôle.<sup>1</sup> What with his amorous gestures, and the monstrous things he did, Tuccia can no longer contain herself,<sup>2</sup> but réels out of the theatre, to fall into the arms of the first gallant she meets. And for the other two, their innocence is equally gone.<sup>3</sup> Thymele sits greedily devouring every motion of the actor's body,<sup>4</sup> and the village beauty from Apulia is every now and then ejaculating, "Dear Bathyllus! do it again."<sup>5</sup> The Roman ladies, also, whose virtue was in hourly peril amid the temptations of the town, were not behind their country sisters in their admiration of the pantomimes. The actors, the dancers, the chorus-masters, but above all, the singers and the musicians of the theatres, were the pets and lions of the Roman ladies,<sup>6</sup> and the singers and musicians particularly so, and in a more intimate way, because of the easy access which brought them together. For every Roman lady must learn to play and sing, and who so

<sup>1</sup> Chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo.

<sup>2</sup> Tuccia vesicæ non imperat.    <sup>3</sup> Tunc rustica discunt.

<sup>4</sup> Subitum et miserabile longum Attendit Thymele.

<sup>5</sup> Appula gannit, Sicut in amplexu.

<sup>6</sup> Nullius fibula durat Vocem vendentis prætoribus.

capable of instructing her as the professional musicians from the theatres? In this way a channel of communication was opened between the theatres and the most veiled seclusion of domestic life. Bathyllus in the boudoir, Paris in the private chamber—the morals of the pantomimes found a new field to expand themselves in, until at last every Roman lady, to be in the fashion, must have an amour with a theatrical. They sat in the silent curtained apartment, listening to the instructions of their insidious music master, toying with tortoiseshell lyres studded with sardonyxes, and every now and then striking the strings with a plectrum, to make a little music by way of a change.<sup>1</sup> And when their instructor had gone—and it is Juvenal who draws the picture—the fair pupil would wander fretfully about the house, longing anxiously for the morrow, pressing her music roll to her breast, or kissing the lyre where her master's hand had been.<sup>2</sup> And when he had entered his name to contend for a public prize, as at the Capitoline competition, where prizes were given for the best singer and player, what flurry! what trepidation! and on the morning of the games, phalanxes of fair admirers, with garlands ready to throw, if their hero was the conqueror.<sup>3</sup> And many of these men were eunuchs, despicable adventurers from Syria and the East, soft effeminate fellows with swarthy skins, who often came to Rome as slaves. And yet when Hedymeles, one of them, had entered

1

Organa semper

In manibus; densi radiant testudine tota  
Sardonyches; crispo numerantur pectine chordæ,  
Quo tener Hedymeles operas dedit.

2

Hunc tenet, hoc se

Solatur, gratoque indulget basia plectro.

3

For the account, see Juvenal.



for the Capitoline prize, Julia Lamia, the proudest matron in Rome, did not think it beneath her to make a public procession to the temples, and implore the gods with the richest sacrifices, to vouchsafe success to her favourite. And in holiday time, when there were no pantomimes, and no competitions to kill the tedium of the day, the stage-struck ladies would get up amateur performances among themselves, under the superintendence of their favourite players: as Messalina, the empress of Rome, and wife of Claudius, had the Epilenius pantomime performed at the palace by the ladies of the court, herself taking the principal part.<sup>1</sup> There were satyrs stamping winepresses, and lakes of wine flowing, and girls dressed in skins and dancing like Mænads in the hall, while she herself, with dishevelled hair, shaking the thyrsus, stalked amid them all, with Silius, her favourite, at her side, who was naked and crowned with ivy to represent Bacchus. And sometimes these performances were nocturnal, and then the priests of Cybele would be there, with their obscene faces and womanish hips—the drums and Phrygian pipes would roar through the lighted rooms, and what deeds were done before the evening ended!

And let us pass a few years onward from the time of Claudius, and see the centrepiece of all—a young man sitting on the tower of Mæcnas, dressed in the costume of a Grecian rhapsodist, with a garland of olive on his brow, and dandling a lyre on his knee as he gazes dreamily on an awful conflagration that rages beneath him. By his side

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<sup>1</sup> The Epilenius Pantomime, or Vindemia, is described by Longus (Pæmen. II.) and by Philostratus in his *Eicons*. For Messalina's part in it, see Tacitus. *Ann.* XI.

stands a *phonascus*, or "voice trainer," who sniffs the air to see if a chill is in the sky, and every now and then applies a handkerchief, that he holds in his hand, to wipe the perspiration from his patron's lips. "By heavens! Terpnus," says the rhapsodist, turning to him, "what a blaze! what a lovely blaze!" And as he speaks, his eyes become fixed, and running his fingers over the strings of his lyre, he bursts into an impassioned recitation of some verses of Homer. "Sire," says the trainer, when he had ended, "your voice will suffer if you tax it so much. You have already to-day done more than enough. Your assumption of the part of Orestes this morning at the theatre was a great strain on you, considering the delicate state of your throat at present, and surely you will not by excess of enthusiasm impair even in a slight degree that beautiful voice which all the world delights to hear." "You are right, Terpnus," replies Nero, "we will give over singing for to-day, and forget the tyranny of art in the recreations of the banquet."

And the banquet was held in the gardens of Sallust, and all the nobility of Rome were there. And the tables were laid under the trees, and twinkling lamps were hung above the banqueters; and from one end of the gardens came the roar of vast bands of music, while dancing-girls, in the lulls between the courses, came dancing down the files of tables in troops, wrapped in thin gauze, and clattering their cracking castanets. And many of them were Spanish girls from Gades in Spain, who danced in line, rising and falling in waves of tremulous hips. And also Syrian dancing-girls, more wanton than these, half naked or entirely so; and these had cymbals that they clashed above their heads, and there was

something fearful in their wild immodesty. And high among the banqueters sat Nero drinking hard, and every now and then applauding the grossest sallies of the dancers. And his beautiful mother, Agrippina, who was also his wife, sat by him. And the toasts were ushered in by torrents of rippling flutes, and the flute-players were beautiful boys and girls, who before the night was over were to know the lowest depths of shame. And with the clearing of the tables and the commencement of the second course, which was wine alone, the orgies began in earnest. And now the living torches were lighted, to cast a dreadful glare over the banqueters; and screams and shrieks of agony began to mingle with the roar of the music and the tempest of the dancers' feet. For these torches that were lighted were human beings, wound up in tar and tow, and blazing in iron cradles like so many beacon fires. They were the guilty 'sectaries of a certain new religion, that had begun to make its appearance in Rome, and to whom the burning of the city had been accredited. And under their glare leapt the dancers. Whistle your flutes, you angel children! and beat your cymbals louder, Syrians! for the evening's entertainment is at its height. And soon the banqueters begin to rave, and stagger from table to table. And Nero reels from his throne, and mixes with the throng. And the gay order of the banquet has given way to a crowd of panting women and drunken men, timid children's faces too among the crowd—one seething mass of licentiousness. And the torches are burnt out, and the moon and the stars shine down through the trees.

And next day is a gala day for the emperor's performance at the theatre. Nero's favourite parts

were Orestes, Canace, Œdipus, Hercules Furens.<sup>1</sup> He had made his *début* as a singer at Naples, in the third year of his reign. He entered the city the day before the performance, dressed as Apollo, and with a long train of musicians and a crowd of attendants—a thousand carriages in all—the horses and mules were harnessed with silver, and the drivers and muleteers were clad in the costliest cloth from the looms of Canusium. He sang several days in the theatre, but his first appearance was the most remarkable. For scarcely had he stepped on the stage and begun the opening *scena* of the tragedy, when the shock of an earthquake was felt in the theatre, and some said that the gods were angry that the emperor of the world should be seen in such a character. And during all the time that he was singing at Naples, he would scarcely allow his voice any rest, and only left the theatre for the baths. And from them he hastened back to the theatre again, and commonly dined in the middle of the orchestra, when it was crowded with people. From Naples he went to Greece, and sang at the principal theatres there, and entering into public competition with all comers at some of the games, he several times received the prize. Such diligence did he use to improve his voice, that he would sit up with his singing-master, Terpnus, till late in the night, practising his arias and roulades for the next day.<sup>2</sup> He slept with plates of lead on his chest, to correct unsteadiness of breathing, and give him the power of sustaining his notes in equal volume.<sup>3</sup> He

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<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, 21. For the other facts mentioned, see Suetonius or Dion.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, 25.

would also abstain from food for days together, in order to purify his voice; often denying himself fruit and sweet pastry, which are known to be prejudicial to singing.<sup>1</sup> When he played at theatres where the audience might possibly be unfavourable to him, he had organised bands of *claqueurs*, who commonly accompanied him in his tours, consisting of many young men of the nobility, and at least five thousand of lower rank. And these were stationed in various parts of the theatre, and they were instructed in three different kinds of applause, which they were to give according to the cue communicated to them by the leaders of their divisions. There was the "*bombi*," which consisted in repeating the words "*Euge*," "*Belle*," (answering to our "bravo!") two or three times, as if in spontaneous admiration of the performance. There was the "*imbrices*," which was a subdued and half-repressed clapping, that sounded well when disseminated through the theatre. And lastly there was the "*testæ*," which was loud and regular clapping, which left no doubt that applause was meant.<sup>2</sup> And by these means there is no doubt that Nero obtained many theatrical successes in Greece, which otherwise he would have been slow of achieving. And he was not only a cultivated singer, but a skilful performer on many instruments as well, and eminently a connoisseur. He could play the flute with the best players of his day, and was no mean performer on the trumpet.<sup>3</sup> He was also a skilled lyre-player, as we have seen; but affected particularly that small Assyrian instrument, the Pandura, with 3 or 4 strings,<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Id. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius. Nero. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ipse cantavit, saltavit, ad tibia dicit, tuba cecinit.

<sup>4</sup> Ipse pandurizavit.



which has been noticed before in these pages, and was now making its way along with other musical oddities to Rome.

Now it happened that during a second tour of his through Greece, a revolt broke out among the Gallic legionaries, who, dissatisfied with the present administration of the empire, put their general, Vindex, at their head, and began to march on Rome. Their disaffection was joined by the legions in Dalmatia under Galba, a more experienced general than Vindex, and a more powerful opponent. The news of this rebellion drew Nero reluctantly from the theatres of Greece, and after many delays on the route he appeared at last in Rome. The armies were not far off, and prompt action was essential. But instead of haranguing the senate, and issuing orders for calling out the troops, he spent the first day of his arrival in examining a New Instrument, which had just been brought to Rome.<sup>1</sup> It was called an Organ, and had been made after the designs of Ctesibius of Alexandria—a man very skilful in mechanical contrivances. He had invented an instrument called the *Rhyton*, or Musical Vase, which was a vase filled with water, and so contrived, that, by the water trickling through a hole in the side, a musical sound like a silvery trumpet-sound should come.<sup>2</sup> And other strange instruments he had invented. And his organ was exactly like our organ in general structure; it had keys and pipes and a wind-chest, only the air was forced into the wind-chest not by bellows but by pistons, which pumping the air through water, the

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<sup>1</sup> Suetonius. Nero, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus, 407, σαλπίζει λιγὸν ἤχον.

instrument was thence called a Water Organ.<sup>1</sup> And what gave Ctesibius the first idea of his water organ was this: He had invented the *Clepsydra*, or Water-Clock, which was a clock to tell the time, that went by water. The water was made to drop upon little wheels, and so turned them round. The motion of these wheels was communicated to a little statue, which gradually rose as they went round, and pointed with a stick, that it held in its hand, to the hours marked on a pillar. But this clock, which answered admirably in the daytime, was plainly of no good at night, when it was dark, and you could not see the hours that were marked on the pillar. So another Greek had invented a contrivance by which the figure should sound the hours on a flute, instead of pointing to them, and these could be heard at night. And it was by directing the water in such a manner that it could force air through the flute at certain times, that he had managed this. And Ctesibius, indeed, had already noticed this principle of extracting music from the pressure of air through a tube, having observed that the weights of a moveable mirror, while sliding down the tube they fitted in, made a prolonged sound by the pressure of the air. But he had not applied the principle to any invention, until this night-clock and the flute-playing figure made him think of doing so. And taking his hint from this, he had made the *Hydraulis*, or "Water Flute," which was really a box of flutes, not unlike the *Clepsydra* in general appearance, though different in points of structure. For there was a large vase containing water, which was like the cistern of the *Clepsydra*, but above this there was a box in which flutes were set,

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<sup>1</sup> Vitruv. De Archit. X. 13.

with their ends turned down towards the water, and the water being dashed about, it forced the air upwards through the flutes, and set them playing.<sup>1</sup> But this was mere unregulated sound, and came to nothing, being more like the random melody of an Æolian harp than the ordered playing of a musical instrument. Nor was it until he had invented slides, which could shut and open the pipes at pleasure, that Ctesibius succeeded in regulating the sound. And having invented slides, he attached them by strings or levers to iron keys, which the fingers should press, and so open and shut the slides at pleasure. In this way he could make the pipes speak as he pleased. At this point of development new improvements were not difficult to add, and by the time the instrument came to Rome, and in the form that Nero saw it, it was as follows:—

There was first a large vase half full of water, which had an inverted funnel in it, that was connected by a pipe with a flat box, or wind-chest, above, that contained the wind. And on each side of this vase were cylinders with pistons inside them, which were worked with levers from below, like pumps. And these cylinders had pipes running from them into the central vase, down through the water into the bell of the funnel. And there were valves at the top, hanging by moveable chains. When, therefore, it was necessary to fill these cylinders with air, the lever was raised, and the valve immediately descended, and through the hole the air rushed into the cylinder. But directly the lever was pumped downwards, and the air sent rushing up the cylinder by the piston, at the first puff the valve closed at

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<sup>1</sup> Athenæus, p. 174.

the top, and the air therefore rushed through the pipe into the central vase, and down it into the bell of the funnel, for the pipe reached there. From thence with redoubled force, owing to the weight of the funnel and the pressure of the water, it was driven up the funnel's pipe and into the wind-chest. In this the pipes were set, and their bottoms covered with slides, as we said, which were connected with iron keys by strings, or trackers. And the pipes were in number 4, 6, or 8, according as the instrument were tetrachordal, hexachordal, or octachordal, but generally it was octachordal.<sup>1</sup> And the touching of the keys caused the sound to come, and according as it was played, there was a varied and beautiful melody. And this was the instrument that was shown to Nero that afternoon when he arrived in Rome, having been summoned from Greece by the news of the revolt of his legions. And having seen the instrument, he was well pleased with it, and determined to introduce it into the theatres, saying that it would make a most agreeable addition to the orchestras of the pantomimes, and would also come in well for tragedy.<sup>2</sup> And that evening he banqueted, meaning to commence his preparations against the rebels next day. But the next morning brought worse news, for another legion had revolted, and now there were three armies at once marching on Rome. And it was too late to do much. And Nero got together the singers and dancers from the theatres,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the entire description in Vitruvius X. 13. Isaac Vossius' directions and diagram for building such another (*De Poematum Cantu*, p. 98.) are still the best guide to the elucidation of the Vitruvian instrument.

<sup>2</sup> It was his intention also to have established contests for Water Organs at the Public Games. Suetonius, 54.

and had them dressed like Amazons, and put himself at their head, and ordered the gates of the city to be flung open, for that thus he would go to meet the foe. For he believed that perhaps some prodigy would be worked in his behalf, or that the soldiers, amazed at so strange an equipment, would cease to be so terribly in earnest, and would return to their allegiance. And next, when some dissuaded him from this, he declared he would go and meet the rebels all by himself, trusting to his beautiful voice to work upon their feelings, and his passion, and his tears.<sup>1</sup> And when he was told that Vindex, one of the generals, had criticised his voice, and said he had a bad one, he was more angry at this than at all the revolt beside. And he vowed that here at last was treason. But when the push came, and the armies were close to the city, his friends all left him, and Nero was left alone. Only a freedman of his, named Phaon, and the boy Sporus, whom he loved, and two slaves, still remained faithful to him, and with these he set off to Phaon's country house, in a storm of thunder and lightning. And his horse took fright at a dead body that lay on the road, and his handkerchief, which he held over his face as he rode, fell off, and a passer-by addressed him by name. And they passed the camps, where the soldiers were cheering for Galba, and when they at last arrived at Phaon's house, they had to creep through marshes and reeds, to get in unobserved. And Nero, being faint and thirsty, drank the water of a puddle, and he said, "This is Nero's tippie now." And his clothes were all torn and his shoes, and his body was torn with brambles, and in this way he was

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<sup>1</sup> Dion, 63, 27.



brought into a small chamber underground in Phaon's house. And he made them dig a grave, and Sporus to begin the funeral lament. And Nero looked at the grave, and said, "What an artist dies in me!" And while he was yet speaking, the hoofs of his pursuers' steeds were heard clattering in the distance, every minute growing louder and louder. And Nero burst into a verse of Homer's,

*ἵππων μὲν κυνόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει.*

*"The gallop of swift-footed horses strikes on my ear."*

And when he had finished singing, he set a dagger to his throat and by the help of Epaphroditus, his slave, plunged it in, and so died.

And Pagan music died with him. For though those theatres and pantomimes and great orchestras of many nations still survived, and Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and a long line of emperors were still to come, and these things long remained, yet a New Music had begun. For about this time in the life of the Imperial City, a belated wayfarer, coming home at night through the Flaminian or Latin Way, or other road on the outskirts of the city, might have seen lights among the tombs, or glimmering from the catacombs underground; and muffled voices would strike his ear, as of men engaged in secret prayer and forbidden rites. The Christians had come, and these were their assemblages. Food for the torches under Nero, as the years wore on they waxed stronger and more numerous, but at first and for a long time they were obliged to hold their gatherings in such places as these.<sup>1</sup> And they met always in the evening, and sometimes at the dead of night, for fear of the law which prohibited all secret assemblages. And they were the dregs of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the descriptions of Jerome.

the people, many of them slaves, and all poor and despised and friendless. And at these meetings they would listen to the reading of their sacred books, and after that would come an address from the president of the meeting, and then they would sing psalms,<sup>1</sup> and these are what would strike on the ears of passers-by, who in hearing them would be listening, without knowing it, to the New Music of the world. For it was a new music growing out, as all musics originally come, from the bosom of Speech. For their psalms had no metre, and would fit no tunes, none of the gay tunes of Greece and Rome, that were fluttering on the golden surface of life, if indeed they had sorted with the mood of these poor outcasts. But a new style of strain, quite different to all we have hitherto been speaking of, must be born in the world to express them. For how was Greek Music born? Amidst the patter of the dancers' feet, in showers of sunlight, and swimming of the senses. But how was Christian music coming? In subterranean vaults, from desperate men, to whom sorrow was a sister, and fear their familiar. And the psalms in their services they muttered and mumbled rather than sang;<sup>2</sup> and on happier days they would exalt their voices and declaim a little the words, but still it was far from singing.<sup>3</sup> Nor was there anything to suggest such a form of expression as song to their minds, for their psalms were but rude translations of ancient Hebrew scriptures, which themselves had nothing metrical about them, and in translating they suffered a still lower descent to the

<sup>1</sup> Justin. I. 67, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Ita psallebat, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam psallenti. St. Isidore. De Offic. 7. Their singing is compared to the murmur of the sea by one of the Fathers.

<sup>3</sup> St. Isidore, loc. cit.

level of ordinary speech, appearing as sheer prose but for one thing. For in speaking of the Hebrew poetry in former time, we remarked that its only approximation to that studied form of utterance which we call poetry, lay in its observance of what is called Parallelism of Thought, which soon had led to Parallelism of Language, and that the Hebrew poetry had each of its verses set out in two parts, with no careful arrangement of the syllables, or efforts after Rhythm, but only this to constitute the form of its verse. And this peculiar feature was naturally preserved in the Latin translations which the Christians sang. They knew verse from verse because of the pair of expressions that made up each, and with this simple lore their musical science began, and all that was done in the future was but the application of this first lesson, or a building on this primitive basis.

Now then shall we see the Semitic contending with the Aryan. And which is to be the conqueror? For the Christians, with their contempt of earthly pleasures and strange spiritual dreams, are but the revival of that wild Semitic fanaticism, which we thought we had left for good, ages ago, among the mountains of Carmel. We thought it had vanished, with its wild ravings and shapeless music, for ever from the scene; but now behold it re-appear again in the heart of voluptuous Rome! Will it do more now than then? For then it promised so little, and did so little, with its contempt of art, and bold reliance on the power of earnestness and nature to bring its accents home. But now it had a new birth, and once more was heard in the world, in the prayers and praises of the Christians.

And their psalms, then, were muttered or spoken by congregations of uneducated men and women, who

knew nothing of the devices of art, but felt the truth of every word they uttered. And these psalms, as we know them, differed so much in character from the classical repose of the Greek spirit—for they are pleadings, prayers, passionate lamentations, outpourings of the heart. It is the language of Emotion which they speak, and we may imagine from the first how they would reflect themselves in the tones of those who said them. And each verse being divided into two well marked parts, it was often the custom for one speaker to begin the verse, and the rest to join in at the close—he taking the first half, and the others falling in at the second.<sup>1</sup> This was a common custom, and it sometimes would be extended to the whole psalm—one person reciting it entire, and the rest joining in at the last verse of all, instead of verse after verse, as in the other way.<sup>2</sup> But the most common method of all, and indeed the most natural, when we think of the earnestness of the worshippers, and how they all burned to take part in the service, was for the congregation to divide itself into two groups, and declaim verse about, or else the halves of verses, first one group, and then the other answering them.<sup>3</sup> And this was called the Antiphonal method of singing,<sup>4</sup> and we have met it before in this history, having found that it was the Semitic manner of singing, which now reappears, and quite unconsciously, in the assemblages of the Christians. And these were

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<sup>1</sup> St. Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæs. The second halves of the verses, when thus sung, were called the Acrostics.

<sup>2</sup> This method was the Acroteleutic method—the verse, in which all joined, having that name. This style of singing is particularly described by Eusebius II. 16.

<sup>3</sup> St. Basil. loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> ἀντίφωνος ὑμνωδία, Socrates calls it. VI. 8.

the organised and ordinary arrangements of the singing, so far as anything was organised. But there were other things, which we must also take notice of. For the people would every now and then interrupt the preacher or the reader with spontaneous outbursts of enthusiasm, for their fervour was so great, they could not contain it, and at points in the address or in the reading of the scriptures, which touched their hearts, they would break in with the words *ἀμήν*, "So be it!" "*Alleluia*," "Praise the Lord!" "*Hosanna*," "Lord save us!" and other such exclamations,<sup>1</sup> which in their utterance would have much in common with the psalm-singing, that is to say, they would be half spoken, half declaimed, and all in the deepest fervour of devotion. But little by little this rude declamation, and especially would this be the case with the psalms, from its very frequency and being so constantly employed on the same words, would little by little gain a regularity of utterance, which, though far removed from what we call melody or song, might yet deserve the name of musical.<sup>2</sup> For it would be hard if people, repeating time after time, and day by day, sets of words, and all so much alike in form as verse to verse, being indeed exact repetitions of one another, would not little by little fall into conventional swings of voice, in like manner, which it seems it would be difficult to avoid. For let us observe the behaviour of the voice in declaiming or speaking even a sentence, and we may

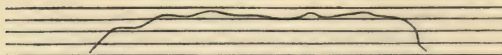
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<sup>1</sup> The practice and origin of these exclamations is treated at length in Bingham. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> "*Simples cantilenæ*," says Glareanus (*Dodecachordon*. I. 14.) "*quæ vix diapente ascensu ac descensu impleant*," but doubtless even his account goes too far, and the word "*cantilenæ*," can with little justice as yet be applied. Cf. *Infra*. p. 38.



be sure that the habits it has there would be still more strongly marked in those symmetrical sentences, which were verses. And first it makes an obvious rise to a certain level, and this is in the nature of things, for there is an effort in commencing a sentence at an elevated pitch, and we seldom do so, unless it is a question or an exclamation. But it is much easier to suffer the voice to go up of its own accord, even if it is only a word or two that it rises from. And next it remains in a wavering way at a certain level during the greater part of the sentence, and towards the end it sinks again. And this is the natural habit of the voice, as we may easily discover for ourselves. And we have already noticed how exactly this was the habit of the voice in that development of speech, which was the Hexameter verse of the Greeks, which, beginning low, attained its greatest emphasis and height in the middle, and sank again at the end in what we called a Cadence. But now we have to deal with a different kind of verse, far less shapely, unmetrical, and consisting always of two distinct parts. Yet if these two parts were still one, and both together made the verse, we must imagine a similar inflection of the voice, that it rose at the beginning of the first part, and remained till the end of the second part, and then fell, and thus each verse was rudely rounded off from its fellow, as sentence is from sentence and clause from clause in common discourse. And to express what we would be describing, musically, we can best do so by drawing a waved line through the common stave thus :—



And this will give our meaning. But what rudeness must we not imagine in the utterances of these unpractised people! And we speak of "sustaining" the voice, and the tone "remaining," but we should rather imagine the utmost licence of inflection and unsteadiness, since the psalms, as we have said, were rather spoken than sung, for Song, as we understand it, was deemed by the Christians a profanity. That gay poising and modulating of the voice, which we call singing, was the vanity of the theatres, the accomplishment of the Pagans. "God desired no such vanity." "It was not with the voice, but with the heart that they must praise him."<sup>1</sup> "Servants of Christ, let the words be your delight, and the holy thoughts they convey; not the tones they come and go in."<sup>2</sup> So much did they set themselves in opposition to those around them, that they must needs reject all that Art had done, and fall back on the rudest elements of nature to make a new one.

And let us turn for a moment to their innocent services, and see how much they were in contrast to the vice and licentiousness of the time. And we have already spoken of those simple gatherings, when they read the Scriptures together, and heard an address, and afterwards recited their psalms. But besides these, they had their Agapes, or Evening meals, when they all assembled together, each bringing his share of food, already dressed, and fruit, and bread and wine. And after they had offered prayers to God, they ate and drank together, and conversed

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<sup>1</sup> These are the words of Jerome. In Eph. 5. 19. "Deo non voce sed corde cantandum, &c." "Quamvis sit aliquis κακόφωνος, si bona opera habuerit, dulcis apud Deum cantor est."

<sup>2</sup> "Sic cantet servus Christi, ut non vox sed verba placeant," &c.

cheerfully with one another, till the lights were brought in, when they washed their hands, and began their psalmody.<sup>1</sup> And this lasted for a long time, until late in the evening. And they would encourage one another with Alleluias to continue.<sup>2</sup> For the Alleluia was the Christians' sweet *celeusma*, or call, whereby they invited one another to give praises unto Christ.<sup>3</sup> As the sailors reefing a sail, or the rowers pulling their boat through a stormy sea, so too must these new rowers and storm-tossed sailors cheer one another with a call like this. And after the Agape was over, there came those holy mysteries of breaking the bread, and mixing the wine, and commemorating the death of their Lord, Jesus Christ. During which, they would read from the diptychs, or tablets of wax, the names of those Christian saints and martyrs, who had died for the sake of their faith, as they too were prepared to die.

And in these gatherings the men sat on one side and the women on the other, and on the women's side the younger women in one place, the married women in another, the virgins, widows, and elder women apart by themselves, but in a place before all the rest. And when the evening was over, they bid one another good bye with a kiss of peace, the men saluting one another, and the women saluting each other, and this was the kiss of the Lord.<sup>4</sup>

And a Christian maiden must never approach the profane company of Pagans; she must never be seen in

<sup>1</sup> The order of the psalmody is detailed in Tertullian's *Apology*. 39.

<sup>2</sup> "The Alleluia," says Bingham (XIV. ii. 4.) "served as a sort of invitatory or mutual call to each other to praise the Lord."

<sup>3</sup> The expression is St. Augustine's. *De Cantico Novo*. II.

<sup>4</sup> *Apost. Const.* p. 264.

the environs of a theatre,<sup>1</sup> which was "a sink of foul iniquity," and "the temple of the accursed demon, Venus."<sup>2</sup> And if by chance she hears a Pagan song, she must shut her ears, and not listen to it,<sup>3</sup> and as for a flute, or lyre, or cithara, she must not even know what they mean.<sup>4</sup>

And here is the Christian idea of Music, as it was laid down by the Fathers of the Church. And little by little their rude psalms had got to have some tune, and they must needs acknowledge that here was in a measure singing. But further than this they would not go. "As David sang psalms on a harp to the Lord, so do we too sing, but on a harp whose strings are alive—our Tongues are the strings. And more the Lord does not require."<sup>5</sup> "The only instrument we use is the Voice. The Word, and the Word of Peace, is enough for us. Let Syrinxes be given to silly clowns; the pipe to superstitious men, who pay honour to idols. Such instruments are to be banished from all sober company, and are more fitted for beasts than men. How far, then, must they be kept from the assemblages of Christians! Be far from us those florid songs and dissipated music, that corrupt the morals!"<sup>6</sup>

And yet there was no preserving this simple music in its infant purity for long, and shutting out completely the influences of the outer world. For already in the reign of Alexander Severus, some

<sup>1</sup> Cf. St. Cyprian's words to that effect.

<sup>2</sup> "Sacrarium Veneris," as Tertullian calls it.

<sup>3</sup> οὔτε ἄσμα πορνικὸν οὔτε ᾠδὴν ἑθνικὴν. Apost. Const. III. 10. This prohibition is repeated in Clemens. *Pedagog.* II. 4.

<sup>4</sup> "Tibia, lyra, cithara cur facta sint nesciat." S. Jerome. "She should not know how to use them," is what he really says.

<sup>5</sup> S. Chrysostom.

<sup>6</sup> S. Clemens Alexandrinus.

century or so it was from the time of Nero, we hear of a Roman maiden, Cecilia, by name, who was accustomed to accompany her beautiful voice with the Lyre, and she was the first Christian that did so. Yet did this not grow into a custom, but was quite a novelty and exceptional thing, which if others did at her time, or after her for a long while, we do not know of them. And she was a Christian virgin, and was forced against her will to marry a Roman gentleman, named Valerian; but she converted him to Christianity on the first day of her marriage and before she had broken her vow of virginity, which she never broke at all, for within a few days she and her husband and his brother and a Roman officer, named Maximus, whom she had converted, were seized and put to death for being Christians.

It was not through instrumental music that modifying influences crept into the early Christian psalmody, for not for a long time to come do we hear any more mention of instruments after the time of St. Cecilia. But it was rather through the singing itself that these influences crept in, and in one weak part of it, that seemed from the first to offer an opening to such things. For as it was the custom to have a president of the meeting, who should preach and take the lead in the prayers, so it was also the custom in the psalmody to have a leading singer, a *Phonascus* he was called, by which they meant a Precentor, who should lead the psalmody; and this seems to have been the practice from very early times.<sup>1</sup> But it was natural that this *Phonascus* being employed to lead the rest, and feeling himself looked up to by the others, should sometimes be vain

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<sup>1</sup> This fact is brought out by Bingham.



of his duties, and introduce a touch of art or two into the naïve simplicity of the Christian psalms. Yet did not this have much effect on the congregations, until those times, which came in due course, when largeness of numbers, or a growing respect for ceremony, which even their simplicity could not quite be free of, made them choose certain members of their body as regular psalmists in their services, who should follow readily the lead of the Precentor and act with him, and whom in their turn the general congregation should follow. Towards the end of the 2nd century after the beginning of Christianity, we find among the regular officers of their gatherings, that is, Doorkeepers, Exorcists, Readers, &c., the names of Singers also appearing,<sup>1</sup> by which we may be sure that actual choirs had begun to be employed.

And among these Singers, women as well as men were usual,<sup>2</sup> which speaks of querulousness, and also perhaps of adornments and decorations, that may have come from Pagan song. For it is the women whom the Fathers reprove for these things, saying, that they tried to thrill the hearts of their hearers with meretricious tones and sweetness of voice, which was a vicious thing to do.<sup>3</sup> And yet can I well imagine, that this meretriciousness and viciousness was but the natural passion of earnest utterance, that came in sweet tones because sweet voices sang it, and that the Christian maidens, who sang in the choirs, though they may have seemed sad warblers to the severity of the Fathers, were yet far from

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<sup>1</sup> They are mentioned as regular officers in the Apostolic Constitutions.

<sup>2</sup> Ambrose. *Præf. in Ps. iv. 2.*

<sup>3</sup> St. Isidore of Pelusium. *Ep. I. 90.*

emulating the arts of the licentious Pagans, whom their brethren in every way so strongly reprehended. For I can promise, that when we come to the first definite tidings and records of Christian song, and can study the very notes before us, we shall find that the art has grown up as the very flower of Nature, containing nature's imperfections along with her beauties, and that the alloy of Pagan elements was slow of coming.

And the Christians being now stronger and more numerous, and also having wealthy converts among their number, began to worship more openly and with greater pomp than they had used to do. And they would hold their services in basilicas, or public halls, which were the halls that the magistrates sat in in the daytime. And they were long halls, generally with two rows of pillars, one on each side, that made three aisles in all. There were galleries along the side, and at the end, where the gallery was discontinued, stood a raised platform, on which was the magistrates' tribunal. And there were steps up to it, and this was called the Bema, and here the clergy stood. And the rest of the basilica was the Nave, or "Ship," for they still loved to think of themselves as storm-tossed mariners, though now they were fast approaching port; and here the congregation sat. And in the centre of the Nave was the Ambo, or lectern, where the Reader stood to read the Scriptures, and on each side of the Ambo were seats for the choir, who sat in two lines, one on each side of the Ambo, that they might sing their psalms antiphonally, as they had from the first been used to do.

And here, then, would the Christians assemble now, and so conduct their services. And "the roofs re-echoed

with their cries of Alleluia."<sup>1</sup> And the sound of their psalms, as they sang them in immense congregations, "was like the surging of the sea in great waves of sound."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jerome. Ep. 30.

<sup>2</sup> S. Ambrose. Hexamer. III. 5.



## CHAPTER IV.

But with wealth and strength came in some quarters corruptions. And first it was in the luxurious city of Antioch that these things began—the gate of the East, the mart of Oriental trade, where all the caravans from Arabia and Persia made their halting-place and journey's end. And Antioch at this time was under the empire of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. And there were many Christians there, and their bishop was Paul of Samosata, whose pupil Zenobia had been. And Paul paid much attention to ceremony, and strove to introduce the Pagan arts of theatrical display into the simple services of the Christians. And he had a gorgeous throne erected on the Bema, with a canopy over it and curtains, and here he would sit and deliver his addresses to the congregation. And he had a choir of women in the middle of the church, that sang most beautifully new songs, and not christian psalms. And as he preached he would strike his thigh with his hand, and stamp with his foot on the ground; and he had *claqueurs* in the audience to applaud him here and there, and wave handkerchiefs, and others to clap the singing. And the songs his choir-girls sang were not christian psalms, as we have said, for he said that this was mushroom music that had only sprouted yesterday,<sup>1</sup> and besides their want of melody

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<sup>1</sup> νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα. (Eusebius.)

and metre was doubtless displeasing to such a lover of strong effects as he was. But he had songs sung that had seen more service, and these were doubtless Pagan tunes, though we cannot positively say so, and he had words set to these tunes that made the people shudder when they heard them,<sup>1</sup> for the words were to the effect that he, Paul, was an angel from heaven, and had existed in the beginning with God, before Christ was begotten. And he had two beautiful choir-girls that he always associated with, and he allowed a similar privilege to all the clergy in his diocese. And these are some of the corruptions that Paul of Samosata introduced into the primitive Christian service.

Now this device of discarding the stern psalmody of the Christians, and employing Pagan tunes to catch the popular ear, was not unknown even before his time, and we are all the more willing to credit him with it, because it was chiefly men like himself, that is, heretics or worldly men, who resorted to it. For earnestness and strict enthusiasm, which can be content with the plain voice of passion, is not familiar to the mass of men; but metre and melody will always catch the popular ear, and so, ambitious and worldly men could turn it to their own purposes, while heretics with one foot in Paganism, or often more Pagan than Christian, would naturally follow in the Pagan path, for metre and rhythm and all the gay arts of Music were the Pagans' own, by contrast to the wild, stern, and formless music of the Christians. And before the time of Paul, one Bardesanes of Edessa had corrupted the Syrian Christians with songs

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<sup>1</sup> ὧν καὶ ἀκούσας τις ἂν φρίξειεν. (Eusebius.)



and tunes,<sup>1</sup> which he used to spread his doctrines. And he was a Christian, who had fallen away from the faith, and would have others follow him. But yet he was no ambitious worldly man, but a pure and beautiful character. And in his songs he propounded his Pagan doctrines. And the beauty of the words was great,<sup>2</sup> but more than that, the charm and beating of the rhythm, which struck on ears unaccustomed to receive it.<sup>3</sup> For the Christian psalms, that were loose and shapeless prose, had not that element of music to adorn them. And the Christian youths of Syria would sing the songs of Bardesanes everywhere, and many were drawn over to his doctrines by this means.<sup>4</sup> And they would meet in caves and sing them,<sup>5</sup> so fond were they of Bardesanes' songs. And we read that the metre that he used chiefly in his songs, and how tame is it when we think of that glory of rhythm which once had been! but yet it is spirited and pleasing—was a four-foot tetrasyllable, that is, it was a tetrasyllable line in couplets:

— — | — — | — — | — — | 6

And in this most of his songs were written. Also the heretics, the Ophites, whose heresy was so near akin to Paganism, used songs, or hymns, as we may well call them, to distinguish them from the psalms

<sup>1</sup> "Modis mollibus et luxuriosis." Ephr. Syr. in hymn. p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Both Sozomen and Theodoret speak of τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀνομάτων.

<sup>3</sup> "Induxit metra," says St. Ephraim the Syrian in hymn. p. 553., "et mensuris ponderibusque distribuit voces." And τῷ ῥυθμῷ τῆς μελωδίας, in the words of Theodoret.

<sup>4</sup> "Concentu psalmodiarum suorum illexit pueritiam," Ephr. Syr. in hymn. 439. and "ita propinavit simplicibus venerum, &c." Id. 553.

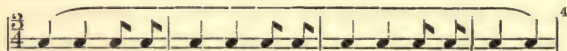
<sup>5</sup> "In specubus Bardesanis canticorum exercent."

<sup>6</sup> St. Ephraim the Syrian. loc. cit.

of the Christians. And the metre that they used was not unlike that of Bardesanes, being also four-foot,

U U — | U U — | U U — | U — | <sup>1</sup>

but far more irregular, being often mixed with others, for I have found complete Hexameters in a hymn of theirs. And the beautiful Valentine, whose heresy indeed is the poetry and music of a stern forbidding age, also expressed his lovely dreams in hymns.<sup>2</sup> But more than them all, Arius, the arch deceiver, the great heresiarch, who would set himself up against Christ himself, and drag him from his throne, a bold unscrupulous man, he couched his doctrines in common songs and tunes,<sup>3</sup> and generally in this pleasing measure,



and the tunes were most melodious and catching,<sup>5</sup> that everybody could sing, and in this way he disseminated his doctrines among ignorant men, that otherwise would have known nothing about his "Like Substances," and "there was when He was not," for these were the jingles that he sang, And men sang his songs at the mill, and sailors as they were hauling in their anchors at sea, and travellers beguiled their journey by singing the songs of Arius.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An entire hymn of theirs is preserved in Hippolytus. The rest are fragments.

<sup>2</sup> As we know from Tertullian's attack on one of them. *De carne Christi*. Cap. 20.

<sup>3</sup> "Suavitate cantus imperitorum animos ad impietatem adduxisse." Philostorgius. *H. E. Lib. II. Cap. 20*.

<sup>4</sup> The Sotadean Verse, in which they were chiefly written.

<sup>5</sup> "Suavitate cantus." *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> Arius cantica nautica, molendaria, et viatoria, ejusque modi alia composuit. Philostorgius. *H. E. II. 2*.

And the Arians, his followers, rent the infant church with their heresy, and more than half the Christian world for a long time was Arian. And Arius knew well how to spread his doctrines. And he wrote a long metrical piece, called the Thalia, that could be sung as catches at meal times, or any other time when men relax their minds. And in this, though its measure is irregular, there are sometimes complete Hexameters :

αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ θεὸς κάθ' ἑστ' ἄρρητος ἅπασι.

— — — — —

Also

οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁμοούσιος αὐτῷ.

— — — — —

*"He is not equal, nor even is he of the same substance with the Father."*

And to such an extent did he spread his views by these means, scoffing and jeering at Christ, and saying that he was inferior to the Father, that the shopmen as they sold their wares would remark, that a Son must come after a Father, and servants took their orders saying, the Father first, and then the Son. And the Arians would make processions in the porches of Constantinople in the evening, carrying lighted tapers in their hands, and singing, "Where are those who say that the Son is as great as the Father?" and so they would go round past the churches where the Christians were worshipping, and mock them with their songs. And they would also sing a hymn of these words, "Glory be to the Father, in the Son, by the Holy Ghost." And passing in procession down the streets at all hours of the day, they would sing this Arian hymn, "Glory be to the Father, in the Son, by the Holy Ghost." And so they misled many of the faithful, who saw no harm in the words,

not knowing that they were carefully contrived by Arius, so that the Son might have less honour. For the "Glory" was to be given to the Father alone, as they sang it, although it seemed, on first hearing, that each person of the Trinity was receiving equal meed of praise. And it was this song of the Arians that first gave rise to the doxology, "*Gloria Patri*," among the Christians, for Flavian, a Christian bishop, seeing that the song was popular with the people, changed the words to "Glory be to the Father, *and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*," as we have them now, by which each person of the Trinity got really, and not only in appearance, equal meed of honour. And the Christians would organise processions in opposition to the Arians, and it was principally St. Athanasius, their great bishop, who was the great opponent of Arius, who got up these processions as a retaliation on the Arians. And with crucifixes and images, and carrying lighted tapers in their hands, the Christians would walk two and two, in long processions through the streets of Constantinople, singing their simple psalms, that were so different to the florid metrical songs of the Arians. And the clergy would walk first or last in these processions, and before or behind them long trains of people. And the women and the men walked apart—and the virgins by themselves, and the married women by themselves, and the men and younger men also by themselves.<sup>1</sup> And in this way they walked, and sang their simple psalms. And we may well imagine what psalms they would sing, such as the Alleluia psalms, which were the psalms of David from the

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<sup>1</sup> Martene. De Antiq. Eccles. Rit. III.

145th to the 150th psalm, which were full of Alleluias and praises, and fitted for such occasions of spiritual war. And we may also well suppose that, setting themselves in opposition to the semi-pagan influences of the Arians, as well, of course, as to the pagan influences of the real unbelievers, they would accentuate and emphasise still more their stern and simple style, if only out of opposition, as we have said. And the Gloria Patri, if it had originally a metrical cast, which perhaps it had not, for the words do not point that way, soon lost what little it had, and fell into the stern declamatory style of Christian song. And this they would generally keep for an Acroteleutic at the end of their psalms. For we have already mentioned their chief manners of singing, how they would sometimes sing in plain antiphon; and in processions where they walked two and two, that is, in two long files, it would doubtless be line and line answering one another: and how they would sometimes have one single singer begin the verse, and the rest join in at the second half. But the Acroteleutic was when they added a doxology or similar burden at the end of their psalms, and this we have also mentioned before.

And now other Christian chants, or songs, and cries of musical praise had grown up since we last mentioned them then. And at that time they had their psalms, and "*Alleluia*," and "*Amen*," and "*Osanna*," that they were wont to exclaim in holy emotion during their services. And first these passionate words had extended much in the utterance, for they were their calls of encouragement and sweet *Celeusma*, by which they invited one another to praise the Lord, and they loved to linger over them as they said them. And saying the Alleluia, they would dwell



upon it, and say it, "*Alle - - - - - luia . . . . .*,"<sup>1</sup> as if they were loth to let it go. And then as they sustained the tones like this, what waverings and tremblings of their untaught voices! no long-drawn notes, such as practised singers give, but wayward dwellings on their loved words, and sighs of earnestness and emotion. And so of "Amen" in like manner. They would dwell on this too, "*A - - - - - men*," as if it were never to be done, for they felt its meaning so well, and longed so much to express it. But besides these, actual chants and psalms had grown up besides those psalms of David that they first had only sung—psalms, that had grown up among themselves, as often they knew not how. And first there was the Angelic Hymn,<sup>2</sup> And they called it a hymn indeed, but how far was it from being what we think of when we speak of "hymn." For it was rude and shapeless, like their psalms, with no metre to form or adorn it, and the very utterance of their souls. And its words were these, "Glory be to God on High: and on earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee: we glorify thee, we adore thee. We give thanks to thee: for thy great glory. O Lord God, Heavenly King: God the Father Almighty." And so on as we know it. And this was the Angelic Hymn that they chanted or sang, and as they sang, they thought the angels in heaven sang with them every morning. And also there was the Cherubic Hymn, or *Trisagion*, that was revealed in a vision to an ancient Hebrew prophet,

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<sup>1</sup> "Lente cantabant, syllabas producebant."

<sup>2</sup> S. Chrysostom. Hom. 68. in Matth. p. 600.

Ἅγιος ὁ θεός, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρὸς, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον  
ἡμᾶς.

And it was called *Trisagion*, because the word "Ἅγιος" ("Holy") occurred three times—"Holy, Holy, Holy." and he saw in his vision the Cherubin and Seraphin singing it before the throne of God, and this is why it was called the Cherubic Hymn. And also there was a verse of song, not so extended as these, which had grown up more like the "Amen" and the "Alleluia," as a passionate exclamation in the services—and it was "Lord have mercy on us," "*Kyrie Eleison*," which was however much lingered on in the utterance, having been at first a passionate exclamation, as we have said, that the people again and again repeated in the emotion of prayer.<sup>1</sup> But now it was much lingered on, "*Ky - - - - - rie . . . . . eleison*," making sad music of their emotion, for thus far had art asserted itself that they could dally with their sadness now. And also there was another psalm of theirs, like the former ones we have mentioned, which the virgins used at their devotions.<sup>2</sup> And it was called the Song of the Three Children, because it was sung by three children of Israel, and had been handed down by tradition among the Hebrews, from whom the Christians received it—

ἐὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα κυρίου τὸν κύριον

"O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord:  
praise him and magnify him for ever."

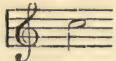
which went on for many verses. And these are some of the chants and psalms of the Christians at the time we are writing.

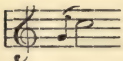
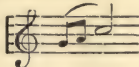
<sup>1</sup> Its antiquity is testified to by Bingham, who also quotes a passage in support of this assertion as to its constant repetition in early times.

<sup>2</sup> S. Athanasius. De Virgin. p. 1057.

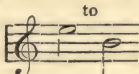
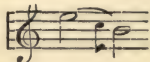
Now let us ask, and try and examine more closely what style of song this really was—these Christian chants and psalms. And soon we shall get tidings and written records of them, but we would make a guess at them before, while still art was so immature as to be indifferent to archives, and its shapes still soft and yielding, and as yet not hardened into their final form. And first they would have no Tonality, for what were tones and scales to earnest men like these, who also were in the main ignorant men, that knew little more than how to praise God, and their psalms but the overflowings of an earnest heart. And even if the precentors, or leaders of their singing, had been skilled musicians enough to check off the psalms in apt tonalities, what scope had they to make their knowledge good among such simple singers, while, on the other hand, the semi-speech, which still was Christian song, would seem as yet to defy all efforts to check it off so. But the absence of instruments from the psalmody must be held to have been another reason why they would find it difficult to make much musical precision, which banishment was also a cause why Christian song so slowly rose from the state of nature. And next their psalms would suffer from all the failings of uneducated voices, and these things were likely to pass into regular habits, and, from being so long uncorrected, at last to be accepted as currency. And let us take the behaviour of an uneducated voice, and see what faults it has when it attempts to sing. And first it has the greatest difficulty in lighting on a steady note. And this we have seen before in our history, having seen it in primitive times, when all song was beginning, and how ages had to pass before steadiness of note became natural to singers. And

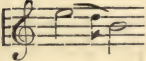
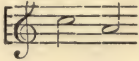

we have much the same picture now, though things will move more rapidly. And first, then, it lacks all steadiness of note, which when it gradually attains, there are certain habits noticeable which we may here remark. For an uneducated voice will always anticipate a note it rises to, or a note it falls to, by two or three others on the way, which, whether it does because it cannot yet wholly shake off the influence of Speech, which seldom makes intervals but covers all up, or because there is a greater ease and less effort in sliding up or down than in jumping, may well admit conjecture. But however that may be, it is certain that unpractised

voices, if they have to sing , will generally

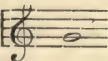

sing  or  &c., anticipating

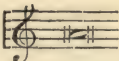

their note by others; and similarly in taking an interval

—from  they will sing  or

; and   &c.

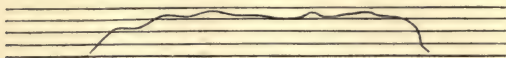
But if we were to represent that unsteadiness of tone we spoke of in their general singing, we must

needs write their  as 

and their  as 

or even .

Now that anticipation of the note we have already noticed as dimly present in every sentence we utter, and have alluded to it in that zigzag line, which we used to express a sentence by,



imagining, when we spoke of it, that the Christians' psalms were declaimed on the analogy of spoken sentences, beginning low and mounting to a certain wavering tone. But now we find that the same thing holds in each single note also.

And that unsteadiness of tone, how would it come out in the unpractised Christian singing! And especially in those exclamations of praise and fervour that we have spoken of, the "*Alleluia*," the "*Amen*," and the "*Kyrie*," &c., where they dwelt so lovingly on the syllables, as if they were loth to let them go. And in the psalms they might have passed from word to word without it being so observable, but here where they loved to hold the tone, how would it show! for they would hold the syllables of *Alleluia* and *Amen*, and generally the last syllables of *Alleluia* and *Kyrie*, as long as their breath remained. And what wavering would there be!

And this unsteadiness of theirs would be greater than it otherwise might have been, and less easily corrected, owing to the utter want of Rhythm in their songs. For Rhythm is the propeller of the voice, and without Rhythm the voice becomes lazy and frisky. And we have noticed in the decline of Rhythm, at the latter days of Greek music, that trills and turns and restlessness of singing became the fashion. And there is much in common between the two cases. For old age and childhood may well



shake hands, since they do but repeat each other. But what is natural in the child to do, we say is the silliness of age, and is always a sign that dotage has begun. Now had the Christians had Rhythm with them, they would have been saved from their quavering and restlessness, which the voice always fell to, when it paused to sustain. But they were averse to it from the first, and had nothing to call it into being. And we may find hereafter, that these very weaknesses and failings, being fostered more and more, so grew on them, that they accepted as beauties what might well be decried as faults, and that the guiding principle of Christian art lay in cultivating what all the world before had agreed to condemn.

For we are now in a new dispensation. For the world now was in the dispensation of the Holy Ghost. And what is the influence of the Holy Ghost? And it is the influence which makes men see the hollowness of form, and divine the might of the indwelling spirit. He is the God who gives that inward light to the simple, whereby out of their very ignorance they can become the teachers of mankind. He it is who inaugurates, by his divine overshadowing, new eras, when men cast off the wraps and robings that encumber them, and stand, like Adam, naked and not ashamed. And the dispensation of the Holy Ghost comes at regular periods in the world's history, to aid and assist the advance of man to perfection, being indeed the regeneration of effete systems and expiring society, to bring about which there must be in every case a pure return to nature. And what is the Music of the Holy Ghost? And the Music of the Holy Ghost is that music which has rid itself of all the coloured trappings which

delight the sense, and seeks only to find a voice which may utter music's first subject-matter, the infinite emotions of the heart. And such was the music of the Christians, which aimed at nothing but pouring out the depth of their emotions and their love, letting the form in which these outpourings came grow up and cluster as it might to shape, leaving the outward as the second and subordinate issue, for time or accident to deal as it would with. And this is the Music of the Holy Ghost, which is the re-casting or regeneration of jaded music, and so St. Basil calls it. For he says that it is by favour of the Holy Ghost that Christian music began, and that the feelings and emotions of Christian men might never have known a vocal utterance at all, had it not been for the Holy Ghost quickening and operating thereto. But He in his infinite wisdom, knowing the frailty of human nature, and how a holy pleasure even the saints delight to feel, vouchsafed this holy pleasure to his children, by finding them a voice to praise the Lord.<sup>1</sup> And their sad stern music was so much sweetness to them, and the rendings of their hearts royal tune.

And St. Basil, who thus describes Christian Music, saying that the Holy Ghost was the author of it, goes on to praise it further, chiefly on this account, that it edified while it pleased. This is to him its main title to regard, that it profited the soul by the

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<sup>1</sup> ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρέτην τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιρρεπὲς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ βίου καταμελοῦντας ἡμᾶς, τί ποιεῖ; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελωδίας τερπνὸν, &c. S. Basil in Psal.

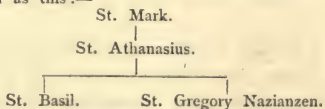
holy thoughts it gave and the holy words it uttered.<sup>1</sup> "For through it," he says, "high advantage comes to one and all; for those who are old and steadfast in the faith, with what delight do they hear the music mixed with holy mysteries! and those who are young in years, or touching perfection of virtue, as yet not grown to ripeness, while they think they sing, in reality learn."<sup>2</sup> And Basil was the bishop of sandy Cæsarea, and we hear of the singing at his services, how they would pass the night in a vigil of prayers and weeping, and then when the day broke, would begin the singing of their psalms. And St. Basil, more than any other man of his time, was the supporter of the early Christian spirit, and in his ordonnances about music he followed the pattern of St. Athanasius, or the Alexandrian style of Christian song,<sup>3</sup> which was the best and purest exponent of the Christian spirit. For now another style of song was growing up in Italy, called the Italian style,<sup>4</sup> and of this we

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<sup>1</sup> ἐγκατέμιξε [τὸ μέλος] τοῖς δόγμασι κ. τ. λ. ὃ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου (i.e. τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος), ὁμοῦ τε ἔδειν ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰ λυσιτελεῖν μανθάνειν μηχανωμένου.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἣ καὶ ὅλως νεαροὶ τὸ ἦθος τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελωδοῦσι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύονται.

<sup>3</sup> Palmer in his *Origines Liturgicæ* p. 57. quotes a passage from an Irish MS. "After Mark, Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil, Anthony, Paul, Macarius, and Malchus chanted according to the order of the Fathers." We may conceive, indeed, the paternity of influence in some such form as this:—



<sup>4</sup> The demonstration of this entirely different style of Christian Song will be given afterwards, and can be given easily.

shall speak hereafter. But Alexandria and Egypt had always been the stronghold of the primitive Christian spirit. For it was in the Thebaïd that the monks were, and in the island of Tabenne, the monks of Pachomius, 50,000 in all, and in the desert of Scetis, the Nitrian monks, 5000 and more. And these had always been celebrated for their preservation of the earliest and simplest style of Christian song—singing antiphonally, and rather speaking than singing. And St. Athanasius would have it also so at Alexandria, making the people rather read and speak than sing. And so late as his time, then, the Alexandrian style still retained the features of the early Christian song. And this was the style that St. Basil upheld at Cæsarea. And there was an intimate communion between the church of Cæsarea and the church of Armenia, which was an offshoot from the church of Cæsarea. And Armenia in its seclusion had preserved the earliest Christian traditions, for it had been founded in the second century. And the influence of Basil would increase this primitive leaning. And the influence of Basil was in course of time extended to Constantinople. And a service that he had written began to be used there.

Now at Constantinople the contrary was the case to what it was at Cæsarea or Alexandria, and still more to what we have said about Armenia. For though Constantinople was by this time in a great measure Christian, yet the traditions of Pagan Art were present in great force, descending in unbroken succession from the times of the Greeks downwards. Here had been no persecutions to set Christian against Pagan, and no barbarian inroads to break the current of development. But the people had slipped into Christianity without well seeing how the change came,

and by virtue of an imperial *fiat* the Pagans of to-day became the Christians of to-morrow, with all the greater readiness because Christianity was the fashionable religion of the court. And they were a dainty people. And if we were to single out what traditions of Paganism had been most perpetuated with them, we should take the spirit of declining Greece, as we found it among the Sophists and Euripides, as the spirit which ruled them most. The same hair-splittings and niceties of thought and language, which we found engaged men's attention then, were once more the rage, only now they were applied to Christian themes. The mystery of the Trinity, the precise lengths of the Incarnation, &c., were debated and defined with the greatest acumen, and the subtlety of their thinking went through the other paths of life as well. Their art was mosaic painting, which consists in piecing innumerable little fragments of tiles together, and making a picture out of them. Their literary style was the style of exactitude and dainty choice of words; and in their music they had retained those hair-splitting scales, the Soft Chromatic, which went by  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd's of tones, the Hemiolian Chromatic, which went by  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths. And they delighted in turns, and trills, and shakes innumerable, of which a whole literature survives.<sup>1</sup> There was the *Quilisma* (*Kylisma*), or "Turn Proper," which consisted of four grace notes, two before and two after the note of the melody—for in this semi-pagan music that we are speaking of, we light on melody again—thus:—





There was the *Ecstrepton*, or "Outward Trill":—



And the *Paracletice*, which was much like the *Kylisma*, only downwards instead of upwards:—



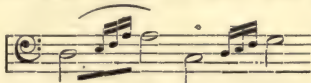
Also the *Tramikon Syntagma*, which greatly resembles our Shake:—



And the *Homalon*, which was a trembling of the voice, that was thought "smoothness" by comparison with other turns, whence it was called *Homalon*, or the "Smooth" Grace:—



And the *Antikenoma*, which was used to fill up the gaps of intervals, and doubtless answered much to our *portamento*, and which we must express:—



<sup>1</sup> The Music of the Greek Church, as it was arranged by St. John Damascene in the 7th century, has, according to constant testimony, remained unaltered to the present day. With propriety, therefore, may the accounts of it that come from later centuries be taken in evidence of its earlier state, just as in the Ancient Greek Music we must needs find much of our information as to its state under Terpander and the Greek Tragedians, in the descriptions of its system, as given by Ptolemy and other Alexandrian writers, who lived some 600 or 800 years after.

<sup>2</sup> Villoteau. Description de l'Egypte.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

Likewise varieties of the *Kylisma*:—the *Heteron Parakylisma*, which was the *Kylisma* doubled, thus:—



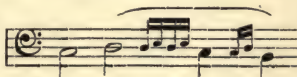
the *Antikenoma Parakylisma*, a compound of the *Kylisma* and the *Antikenoma*:—



Also "*Echos*," two kinds, that were lightly sung graces, the *Thematismus Echo*, which is like the *Kylisma*,



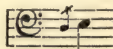
And the *Heteros Echo*,



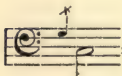
And *Apoggiaturas* and *Acciaccaturas*, the *Lygisma*,



the *Tzakisma*,



the *Bareia*,



together with many more of the same

kind,<sup>1</sup>—these indeed being the devices with which Art seeks to relieve the monotony of Unrhythmic music. For this semi-pagan music of Constantinople suffered from rhythmic weakness, though not in so great a

<sup>1</sup> See the Greek Treatise in Villoteau. Description de l'Egypte. for the above.

degree as the pure form of Christian music, which we have found with St. Basil, &c., and certainly from another cause. For while the Christian music was a young and new music, that had broken free from the restraints of rhythm in its intense earnestness and spiritual ecstasy, this was an old music, that was hastening to the same result indeed, but through decrepitude and decline. And these are its tottering steps we see, which it has the art, however, to disguise in feeble pirouetings and shaking attitudes. And we have marked the weakening of rhythm and the entry of meretriciousness from the time of Euripides and Agatho; and now old age has come in earnest. So like is its quavering to the honest timidity of Christian song, that we wonder how the two musics will affect each other. And the Byzantine theorists are observed to lay great stress on the *Procrusmus*, the *Eccrusmus*, the *Teretismus*, and other graces and ornaments of ancient Greek Music,<sup>1</sup> which we have mentioned before, and these added to those we have just now given, which might indeed have been greatly multiplied, will show us how the music was studded with decorations, and how it must have waved and trembled on the ear. And of the ancient Greek modes, which had grown to fifteen by the time of Aristoxenus, the semi-pagan music of Constantinople had retained at least twelve,<sup>2</sup> but curiously distorted by the influence of the Chromatic, which, since we left it in the days of Aristoxenus, had struck its influence so deep into music, that all pure Diatonic forms had ceased, and corrupt mixed forms of Diatonic and Chromatic had superseded them, as the ordinary forms of the Modes.


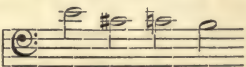
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<sup>1</sup> As Manuel Bryennius and others.

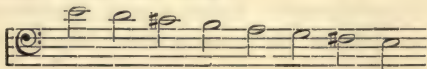
<sup>2</sup> See the Greek Treatise in Villoteau.

For this was the weak place of the Diatonic, through which the Chromatic had most naturally struck its root:—the upper note of the semitone. For since the semitone acts a bridge, or point of transition, to every new group of tones, the voice always suffers a momentary failure on it, and principally it should seem on the upper note of it, where the beginning of the new group occurs in ascending, and the cadence of it in descending; and here as we say the Diatonic was weak. But at this precise place the Chromatic put forth all its strength, for descending the mode, *e.g.*, the Dorian:

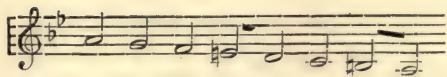


it struck hard and firm with its accidental sharp the top note of the semitone, *vis.*, C, , which was rendered all the more poignant by the omission of the intervening note, *vis.*, D, as 

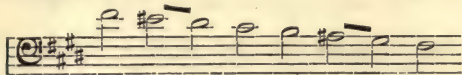
and this effect once heard was not easily forgotten. Now this telling effect took place at every semitone, that is, generally twice in every Mode: and little by little it had grown the custom to admit this Chromatic Semitone as an essential constituent of the Mode, and this was the corrupt form we spoke of. And in this corruption of half Diatonic, half Chromatic, the Dorian Mode was sung:—



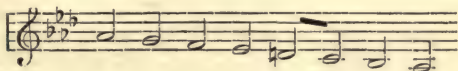
and the other modes in like manner, as the Mixolydian,



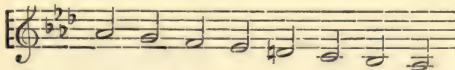
the Phrygian Mode,



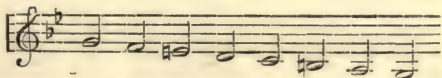
and the rest in like manner. In such cases as the Lydian, however, where the Chromatic progression occurred at the extremities of the Mode, and in neither case could be perfectly exhibited owing to the deficiency of notes preceding or following, only the available semitone, that is, the one in the middle, had received alterations, and the Lydian mode by consequence was sung,



Now we have said that at least Twelve Modes were used; and of these, four were new ones, called Middle Modes,<sup>1</sup> of which we know nothing, and which played but a subordinate part in the music; but the other eight were confused selections or survivals of the High and Low forms of the Modes of Aristoxenus, one or other form of each mode remaining. And of the Lydian Mode the High form had survived, that is to say, in the corrupt form we have mentioned,

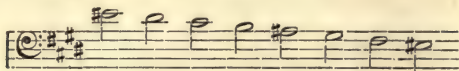


and of the Mixolydian the Low form, corrupted as below,



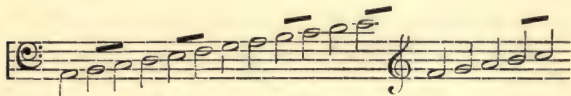


and of the Phrygian the Low form

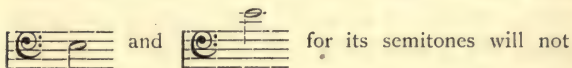


while the Dorian, which had no Low or High form, stood as it was. And the *Hypos* to these Modes, at a fourth below with similar corrupt intervals, that is, the High Hypolydian, the Low Hypophrygian, and the High Hypodorian.

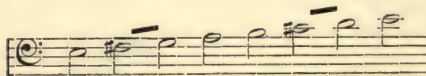
And in order to show yet more perfectly what changes these modes had undergone, and into what forms they had grown, let us treat them by application to the scale; and applying the corrupt Dorian to the scale,



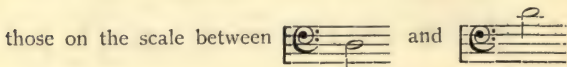
we shall find that it will no longer lie between

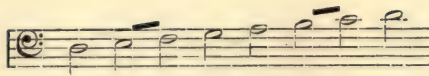


as we may see; for the semitones of the corrupt Dorian are,

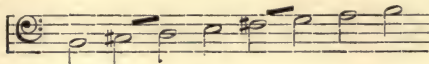


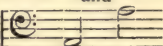
which on application will be found to coincide with



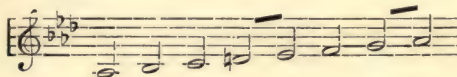


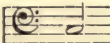
And similarly of the Hypodorian, a 4th below,

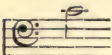
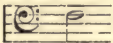


which will coincide with those between  and

And the Lydian,

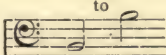


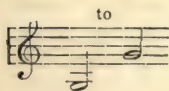
will no longer coincide with the tones from 

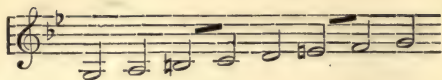
to  but with those from  to



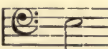
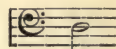
And the Hypolydian in the same way, at a 4th below. And the Mixolydian no longer with the

tones from  to

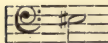
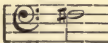




And now we have spoken of all the Modes except the Phrygian, in which there was more than ordinary corruption. For it is plain that the Dorian, in

changing its situation from  to 

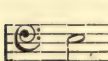

has usurped the intervals of the Phrygian, while the Phrygian, in receiving a semitone at its beginning, viz.

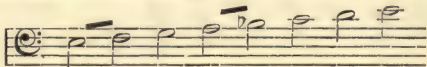
 before , had contracted a great

similarity with the Dorian, for applying this corrupt Phrygian Mode to the Scale,

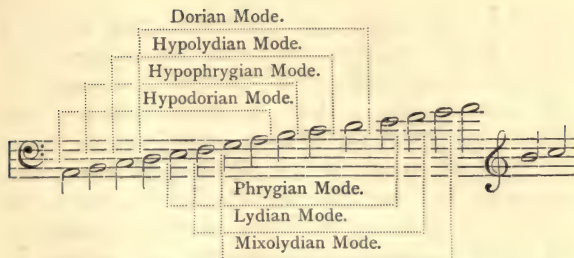


we shall find that except in one interval it will exactly coincide with the true Dorian intervals from

 to 



And this similarity with the most prominent and commonest of all the ancient modes was too strong to escape a last perversion, and the Phrygian was generally sung with the natural instead of the flat, and thus became identical with the ancient Dorian. And now, to write all these Modes in one figure, we shall clearly see their exact progressions and their new relations to each other :



To these forms, then, had the modes grown by the time we reach them again at Constantinople, and having applied them to the scale, we have shown more clearly in what their variations from their ancient forms consisted. And being taken as the basis of the music, they were sung not only in their corrupt Diatonic forms, but also with the genuses of Soft Chromatic, Hemiolian Chromatic, Soft Diatonic, and Enharmonic, which still remained as in the days of Agatho. And also those graces and adornments in abundance, the *Procrusmus*, the *Eccrusmus*, the *Quilismas*, the *Echos*, *Syntagmas*, &c., were used in profusion in the singing, as we have said. And it was into such an atmosphere as this that that sad earnest Christian music was launched, which last we left in the hands of Basil at sandy Cæsarea.

And a service that he had written began to be used at Constantinople about this time. And his service, indeed, may have remained the same, but the singing of it certainly changed. For let us ask what was there in common between those sad singers of nightly vigils, that we have known in the chapel where he worshipped, and the luxurious congregations of Constantinople, who repeated with even greater licence the pomp of Paul of Samosata.<sup>1</sup> Immense

<sup>1</sup> See *Infra* p. 42.

churches with domes burnished with gold, pillars of costly marble in aisles about, and lamps burning in hundreds through the church—these are the scenes we are amongst now. And in the middle of the church, and under the *trullum*, which was the dome, the choir sat, arrayed in costly habits. St. Chrysostom complains of theatrical gestures accompanying the music, and shall we not think of theatrical manners of singing? Indeed this was the very ground of complaint, which other fathers and he too bring against them. They had got so far as use unguents for their throats,<sup>2</sup> and their turns, and shakes, and flourishes were incessant. And round them sat the people, principally ladies, ready with applause, or waving their handkerchiefs,<sup>3</sup> at fine singing or good preaching. Indeed there was some ground for the reproach which the Pagans might make, that in the Christian Service the Tragedy of Bacchus was but repeating itself in a stiffer and soberer form. There was the priest, the rhapsode—the chancel, the stage—the chorus, the choir in the body of the church, which like some great orchestra spread out its huge area. And they answered him, and so the service went on. There was an altar, too; and many things there were at that time, that seemed of themselves to suggest the comparison, among which was the silver fan, which was in very truth the fan of Bacchus, though they said they used it to imitate the rustling of angels' wings.

Now long before this time, pious Christians, who saw what way things were taking, had often wished

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<sup>2</sup> "Guttur et fauces dulci medicamine collimendos." Cf. S. Chrysostom to the same effect.

<sup>3</sup> κατασείλουσι ταῖς ὀθοναῖς.



that their traditional music and psalmody might be collected and arranged, before it was spoilt by the corruptions that were entering into it, or the memory of it lost amid the wordly music of the time. Yet no one was competent to undertake the task, and whether it were that such sober-minded Christians as would attempt it, were as a rule quite ignorant of the traditions of Pagan Music, in which alone lay the science that could make it possible, or whether perhaps the actual difficulty of recording those half spoken, half chanted tunes was too great to give any promise of success, however it might be, years wore away and corruptions increased, and still the task was unfulfilled. As early as the end of the 4th century, the emperor Theodosius had commissioned Damasus, bishop of Rome, to undertake it,<sup>1</sup> and had it been done then, we might have known these songs better. And now it was near the end of the 6th century, and the task still unaccomplished, when Pelagius II., another Roman bishop, sent a young man, named Gregory, to Constantinople, as papal legate to the court of the Emperor. He, remaining in Constantinople for four years and more, became acquainted with all the musical science of the time, which was in a manner locked up there from the rest of the world; and there he heard the Christian music declaimed in a rare, and, as it often seemed to him, a delightful way, for a rude ear will catch at showy things—and yet was he not always led away by it. And coming from there a learned musician, and skilled in the most refined style of Christian music, he afterwards became Pope of Rome, succeeding Pelagius. And doubtless he had been collecting

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<sup>1</sup> Durandus, *De Officiis*. V. 2.

Christian music before, being one of those who would fain preserve it from perishing; but now the idea came to him of gathering Christian chants and psalms from all parts of the world, and uniting them into one mighty work, which should remain for ever the meeting-ground of Christian music, as Rome was to be of Christian faith.

And having these things collected, which he had doubtless collected in large numbers himself, he sorted and arranged them in the form of the services as they were held at that time, so that there might be different chants or tunes for every Sunday and Holy Day in the year, and he had such a large number to choose from, that this was not difficult to do. But what was more difficult than sorting and arranging the tunes, was giving them a musical structure; for they would ill lend themselves to that dainty trifling music of Constantinople, although in a marvellous way there was greater affinity between the two than at first sight appeared, and with the genuine Pagan music they had nothing in common, for they had no rhythm. They were couched in no scales, for they had grown up among men ignorant of music, and even at the time we find them, were but half emerged from speech. So that it was difficult for St. Gregory to convey a musical structure to them, without diminishing considerably from their original character. Yet this he did, and so skilfully, that with much that is new so much of the old remains, that we may easily hear the voices of untrained singers and the utterances of simple worshippers echoing throughout them all, and catch Song springing like a rose from Speech.

And first, what were the parts of the service where the singing came, and the music he arranged for those parts? And some of them we have already met

before—for the *Kyrie Eleison* and the *Alleluia* had continued in use among Christians from the primitive times when we found them, and doubtless with but little change of singing; only there was this difference, that they were not sung or chanted as ejaculations now, or continually by the congregation as many times as the fancy took them, but once or twice only, and at a definite place in the service. And the *Alleluia* was sung after the reading of the Epistle, which was read towards the middle of the service; but the *Kyrie* came earlier, coming before the Collects, or selections of scripture which were read by the priest. And the *Alleluia* was sung but once, and the *Kyrie* but at this one place, though more than once, for it was sung six times in all, with the words, *Christe Eleison*, “Christ have mercy,” coming in the middle, that is, between the third and the fourth time, thus:—

Kyrie Eleison.  
Kyrie Eleison.  
Kyrie Eleison.  
Christe Eleison.  
Christe Eleison.  
Christe Eleison.  
Kyrie Eleison.  
Kyrie Eleison.  
Kyrie Eleison.<sup>1</sup>

in this way, keeping up to some extent the traditions of its early manner of being sung, when they would continue to say it until the priest had made them a sign to cease. But now it was more orderly.

And besides these there was the *Amen*, a kind of

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<sup>1</sup> In this form it was a prescribed part of the service, being so ordered by the Council of Vaison.

Acroteleutic, that was sung at the close of every prayer. And of longer pieces, the Cherubic Hymn, the Trisagion, had been brought from Constantinople, appearing in Latin form as *Tersanctus* or *Sanctus*, which was sung shortly before the consecration of the bread and wine; also the Angelic Hymn, "Glory be to God on High," "*Gloria in excelsis*," which was sung immediately after the Kyrie Eleison, indeed between it and the collects. And new pieces of similar kind—there was the *Agnus Dei*,<sup>1</sup> "O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world," which was sung while the priest was taking the bread and wine; also the Creed was now beginning to be sung in the services, as it was arranged at the Council of Nicæa, "I believe in one God;" and there were short Antiphons or Responses of a line or two in different parts of the service.<sup>2</sup> But particularly there were the Introits and Graduals, which were established by St. Celestine, Pope of Rome, in 422 A.D., who ordained that the psalms of David should be chanted through in the course of the year, by taking sometimes one, sometimes another at the beginning of the service, and this psalm that ushered in the service was called the Introit, because while it was being sung the priest made his entry. And it was to be sung antiphonally, one side of the choir answering the other, as indeed all the music was sung. And the Gradual was not unlike it, but shorter, being not a complete psalm, but only a selection, to which form indeed the Introit afterwards came, though, at the

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<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking this was not introduced till the time of Pope Sergius. A.D. 690.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the Prefaces, for which see the Sacramentary of St. Gelasius,

time we know it now, it was an entire psalm. And the Gradual, then, was also sung antiphonally, and generally in that kind of antiphony in which one singer answered the full choir. And it was sung between the Alleluia and the Epistle—indeed the Alleluia should rather be considered as an appendage to the Gradual, and the note of jubilee that concluded it; for this was the happiest moment of the service, when, the Epistle being finished, the choir stood on the steps of the chancel (*in gradibus*), and sang this Gradual, or “Psalm of the Steps,” which was followed by a prolonged note of Alleluia, for after this the Gospel was to be read, in which they would hear the good tidings of their Lord.

And the Introits, they said, were bold and ringing, like the voice of some crier proclaiming the service.<sup>1</sup> And the Antiphons, or Responses, were sweet and tender. And the Alleluias full of divine joy. But the Graduals combined all these things, and were happy, and jubilant, and heavenly.<sup>2</sup> In this way, they assigned a character to the various parts of their service, and doubtless the traditional chants and psalms well sustained these things. And St. Gregory collecting these, which had many of them come down from the earliest times, was hard put to express them all in one common musical structure, for they varied so much. For among the mass which he had at his disposal, there were doubtless the florid chants of Constantinople side by side with the rude psalms of the early Christians. And let us see how he did. And first, he took the Eight Greek Modes, that is, the

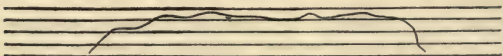
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<sup>1</sup> Sicut præconis vox.

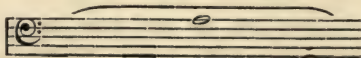
<sup>2</sup> These are the characteristics given by Gaforus. *Musicæ utriusque cantus practica*. Cap. 8.



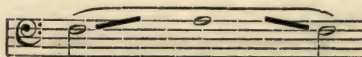
Dorian, the Phrygian, the Lydian, the Mixolydian, with their subordinate Modes, or *Hypos*, a 4th below each, and he arranged eight methods of chanting, agreeably to these, determining them according to their height, for some were low and some were high, according as the character of the words had prompted the singing. And those whose tones fell chiefly about the ordinary level of the singing voice, that is, the *Mese* of the old Greek Scale, the note A, which was the conventional note in Greek singing, and now was the 5th of the Dorian Mode, he set these chants in the Dorian Mode, and pinned their principal note to the note A, so that voices should henceforth tune themselves to this for their key note. And now let us see the actual form of those ancient songs, of which we have talked so much, for now we may behold them musically. And they were like sentences of speech we have said, rising up at the beginning of the sentence to a general level, and then sinking again at the end, like



as we expressed it, for this is how our sentences are inflected, and so we imagined them sung in the catacombs, and at the primitive gatherings, when Christian music was beginning. Now let us set the note A for the line of general level, thus,



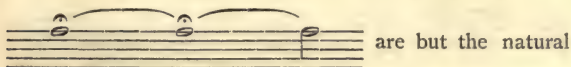
and making an approach and a descent from it,



we shall have gone near to get the outline of the ordinary Christian chant. As we may well see, by considering the chants which Gregory collected and set down. For the chants he set in the Dorian mode were,<sup>1</sup>



And these waverings about between A and A,

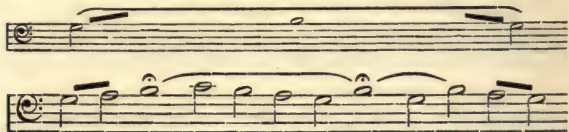


behaviour of the uneducated voice, which cannot hold its note, and is more akin to speech than song, or else had they been perfect singers we should have had one continuous A all through, as we have in the ground form that we have set over the others.

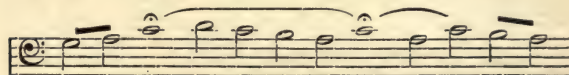
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<sup>1</sup> Nivers' Dissertation sur le Chant Gregorien, which Sir John Hawkins largely used, may still retain its place as one of the leading authorities for Gregorian Music.

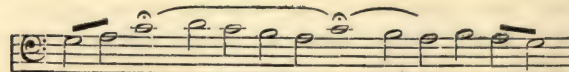
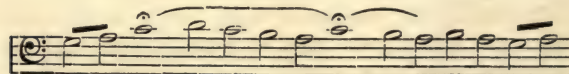
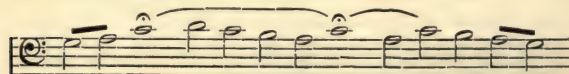
And similarly in the Phrygian Mode, which is higher than the Dorian, and in which he set chants, that were higher and gayer, accordingly, he pinned the principal tone to the note B; for the Phrygian Mode was exactly a note higher, and therefore B took the place of A.



And yet because there was something mournful in this run on B, and the chants he wanted to express were lighter and sweeter, he set them on C instead of B, though still in the Phrygian Mode, and so the one we have quoted became



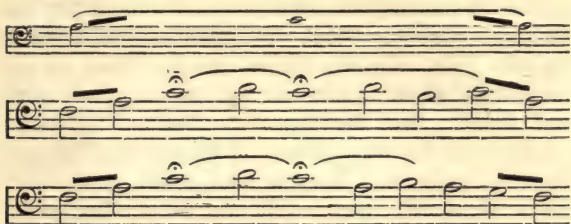
which is much sweeter and more melodious.<sup>1</sup> And the rest in accordance with it:



And in the Lydian Mode, which by rights were on C,

<sup>1</sup> This change probably came after Gregory's time.

for the Lydian Mode was a note higher than the Phrygian,



And in the Mixolydian Mode on D, a note higher than the Lydian,



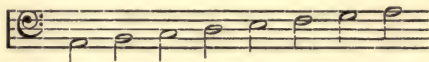
And now let us see how much the characters of these Modes had altered by the changes they had been subject to since we knew them among the Greeks—I mean, in the progression of their intervals. For the

Dorian Mode was once the grave majestic mode, and the Phrygian the wild and passionate one, and the Lydian the sweet and tender, and the Mixolydian the melting mode of emotion, which also was the mode of Sappho. But now the Dorian has something of sad melancholy about it, and the Phrygian is grown sweet and tender. But the Lydian is the most powerful of them all, for those chants in the Lydian Mode are ineffably powerful. But the Mixolydian still retains much of its old character, for the Mixolydian chants are the most melodious and tuneful.

And next St. Gregory took the *Hypo*, or Subordinate, Modes, and arranged chants to them in like manner, pinning the principal tone to a note in them in like manner. But with these he dealt somewhat differently. For whether it was that the *Hypos* were somewhat low for singing, and so he by preference took their 6th instead of their 5th for his chants to move on, and even higher than their 6th, for he sometimes took their 7th, or that in the *Hypos* he would make each a sort of under reflection of its leading Mode, and that in the chants which he designed for them he had to do with chants of limited compass, which called for tender handling—wishing, then, to establish a community between each pair of Hypo Mode and Main Mode, he so arranged his chants that the last note of each pair should always be the same, and this served as a Tonic, which made them in a manner one. But in the leading Modes, the run of the melody moved much higher above its Tonic than in the Hypo Modes, which kept lower down and scarcely three notes or so above it, so that they were really dim reflections of the characters of the leading Modes, moving from the same Tonic but at a lower level. And since



the Dorian chants ended properly on D, which was the Tonic of the Dorian Mode, for though to some he had been compelled to yield the licence to end a note or two above, it is plain that this was the proper ending, for it was the note of the Mode's octave, he arranged the Hypodorian so that it should also end on D, and therefore took F in the Hypodorian Scale of

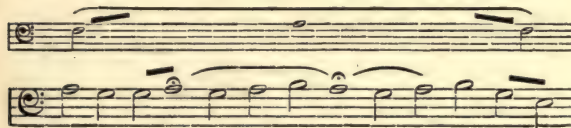


as the note to pin the principal tone of his chant to. And it will be seen that this chant has precisely the same contour as the others,



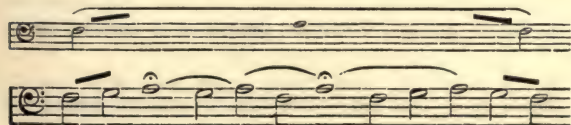
ending on D, the Tonic of the Dorian.

And in the Hypophrygian Mode, for the same reason, he took A,

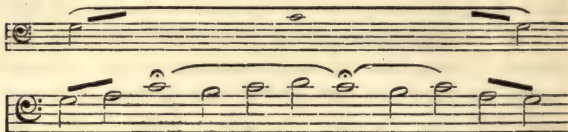


ending on E, the Tonic of the Phrygian.

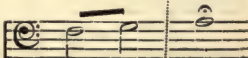
And in the Hypolydian Mode also A, to end on F, the Tonic of the Lydian,



And in the Hypomixolydian, C, to end on G, the Tonic of the Mixolydian.



And the chants in the various Modes he called Tones. There was the 1st Tone (*Tonus Protus*), which were the chants in the Dorian Mode. And the 2nd Tone (*Tonus Deuterus*), which were the chants in the Hypodorian. And the 3rd Tone (*Tonus Tritus*),<sup>1</sup> the chants in the Phrygian. The 4th Tone, the Hypophrygian. The 5th Tone, the Lydian. The 6th, the Hypolydian. The 7th, the Mixolydian. And the 8th, the Hypomixolydian. And the note in each which was the principal one, on which he had pinned the principal tone of his chants, was called the Dominant, because it seemed to domineer and govern the others. And the note to which they fell at the end, was the Tonic, as we have said. But the notes by which the chants approached the Dominant at the beginning, was called the Intonation,

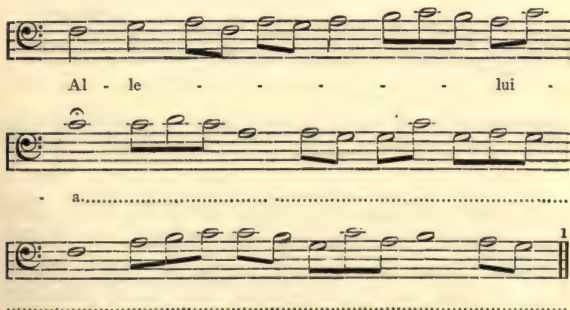
as, in the 1st Tone, it was 

in the 2nd , and so on.

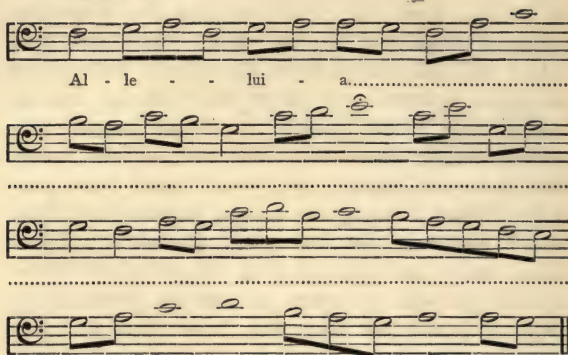
Thus fitted with Intonation, and Dominant, and Tonic, which was the Cadence at the end again, we see these ancient Christian psalms in a musical dress,

<sup>1</sup> The Greek names of the Tones, as here given, which were the common names in the early Middle Ages, are peculiarly suggestive of a Byzantine origin.

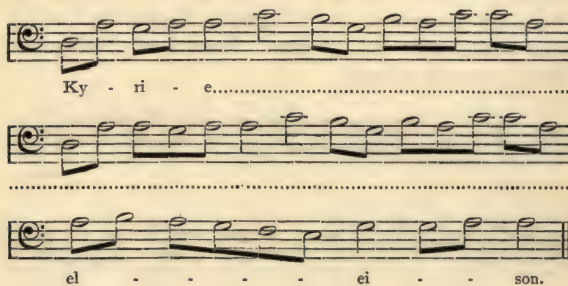
differing but little, indeed, except in greater firmness of outline, from the primitive form in which we imagined them first to be sung. And this form indeed they got partly from the natural inflecting of the simple sentence, and partly also from the singular form of the Jewish poetry, to whose pattern they were insensibly constructed. For had sentences indeed been their sole original, they would scarce have risen to so definite a shape, for varying lengths would have caused confusion, and the utter absence of rhythm would have produced at best a melodious chaos. For let us pass to other portions of their music, where they had not even this loose form to guide them, as their Kyries, and their Alleluias, for instance, and we shall see how formless, and vague, and almost unintelligible to rhythmic ears was this wild Christian music. And here are some Alleluias, as they are preserved in Gregory's Collection, which were sung after the Gradual Psalm and before the reading of the Gospel.



<sup>1</sup> Alleluia for the 1st Sunday in Advent. Gregory's Antiphony. St. Gall MS.

*Another.*

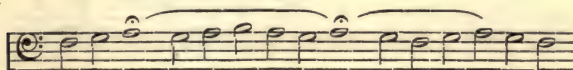
Or let us take a Kyrie, and we shall find the same thing hold,



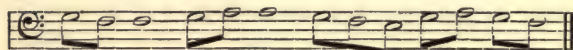
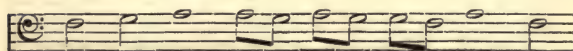
So that we must not think that in these eight tones which we have just now discussed, in which Christian Music has all the benefit of Greek Art to help it and give it clearness, we see a complete picture of it by any means. On the contrary, we see but the choicest and most orderly specimens of it, which Gregory with great art had weeded out from the rest, and set in the form we have given them.

For what swaying, and wavering, and breaking free from the smallest restraint, do we find not only in their other music, which we shall shortly give, but even in the chants of these Tones themselves, which come to us through other channels in such forms as these :<sup>1</sup>

The First Tone no longer,



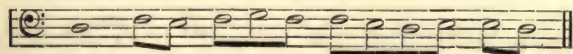
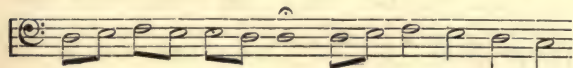
but



The Second Tone no longer simply,



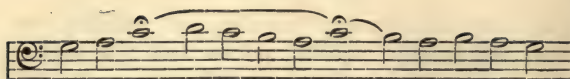
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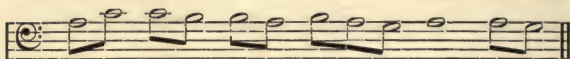
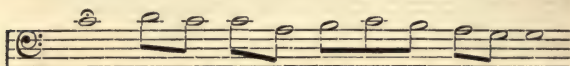
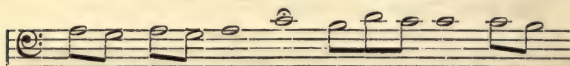
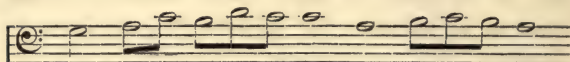
The Third Tone not as,

<sup>1</sup> From an Antiphonary of the 13th century (French, .

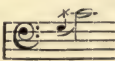
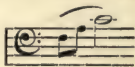


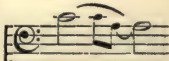


but




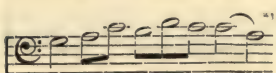
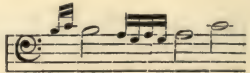
and the others in like manner. In which we may well mark the characteristics of the uncultivated voice, with its wavering, and unsteadiness, and inability to

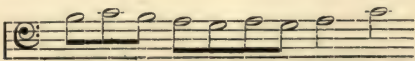
keep its note, and its  and 

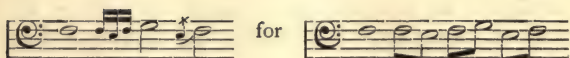
when it would get at a pitch; and its 

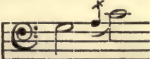
when it would descend, &c. For these bound minims, which we have written above, might indeed have been better expressed by appoggiaturas and slurs, as we have written them just now, and then

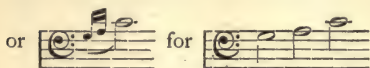
 would have appeared for

 and 


for , and




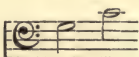
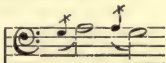
and probably even the intonation itself, 

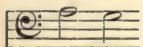



For how many of those weaknesses of untrained voices, to which we have before reverted, do actually appear as artistic forms in Gregory's Gradual of Christian

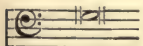
Song! How common a thing is 

to find, for an ascent to  by the

interval ; and  for

, which is almost perpetual; and

 for the sustained note

, which is a common thing to find—

uncouth anticipations and feeble holdings of note, the weaknesses of unpractised singers, which reverent tradition had preserved, and now places before us in Gregory's Gradual, as the choicest fruits of Christian Art. So much so indeed that we may even pick out the bones of the music, that is, its tones as they would have been sung by skilful singers, and say what were the flaws and imperfections of utterance, which by a miraculous conservatism were carefully

husbanded as beauties, and recorded as such in the book we speak of. And taking an Antiphon from thence, we will write it thus—<sup>1</sup>

The musical score consists of three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a lower line (bass clef). The lyrics are in Latin, and there are performance annotations in English.

**System 1:**

Vocal line: E - mit - te lu - cem tu - am.....  
*And underneath how it appears.*

Lower line: E - mit - te lu - cem tu - am.....

Annotations: This is its difficulty in ascending to the note. | Here it falters on it.

**System 2:**

Vocal line: ..... et ve - ri - ta - tem tu -

Lower line: ..... et ve - ri - ta - tem tu -

Annotations: Here it begins to descend to A. | Wavering on D.

**System 3:**

Vocal line: - am Ip - sum me de -

Lower line: - am..... Ip - sum..... me - de -

Annotations: | wavering on C. |

<sup>1</sup> Antiphon for Passion Sunday (ascribed to St. Gregory), extracted from a German Antiphonary of the 13th century.

- dux - e - runt et ab-dux-e-runt in montem

- dux - e - runt et ab-dux-e-runt in montem

A hesitation which  
leads to repetition.

*Cadence.*

Sanc - tum tu - um.....

Sanc - tum tu - um.....

A faltering cadence twice repeated.

which written as Gregory writes it becomes

E - mit - te lu - cem tu - . . .

- am. ....

Et ve - ri - ta - . . .

- tem. .... tu - am. ....

Ip - sum. ....

me..... de - dux - - - - -

- e - runt..... et ab - dux - e - runt

in mon - tem Sanc - tum tu - - - - -

- um.....

.....

a most wayward and shapeless piece of music, which perplexes us as we read it.

Or take the following from the service for Palm Sunday,<sup>1</sup>

Ten - u - is - ti ma - num.....

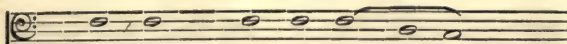
Ten - u - is - ti..... ma - num.....

Difficulty of sus-  
taining the note.

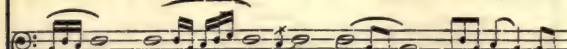
Difficulty  
of ascent  
to G.

<sup>1</sup> Gradual for Palm Sunday. Antiphonaire de St. Gregoire. St. Gall MS.



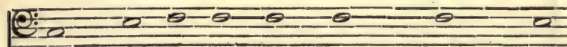


dex - te - ram me - am.....

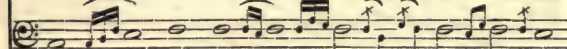


dex - te - ram me - am.....

Anticipation of F.	Wavering on F.	Inability to take an interval with- out slurring it.	Unsteadiness on the note C.
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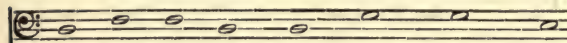


in vol - un - ta - te tu - a.....




in vol - un - ta - te tu - a.....

The voice dragging through the interval.	Unsteadiness on the note.	Similar un- steadiness.
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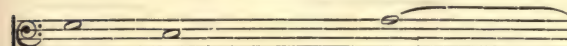


de - dux - is - ti me..... et cum

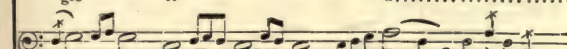


de - dux - is - ti me..... et..... cum

As before.	As before.	Wavering on G.
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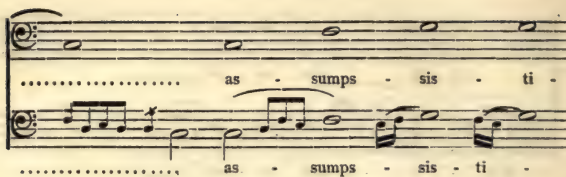


glo - ri - a.....

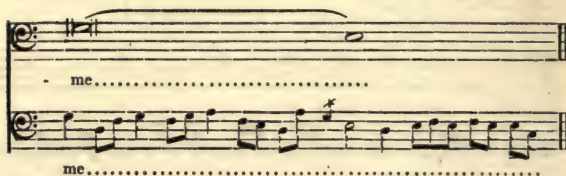


glo - ri - a.....

As before.	Unsteadiness on E.	The regular slurring of the interval.	Cadence.
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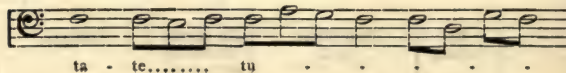
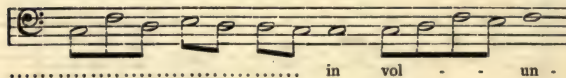
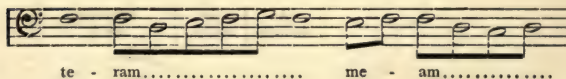
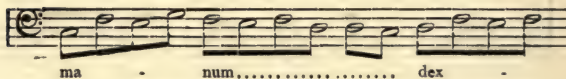
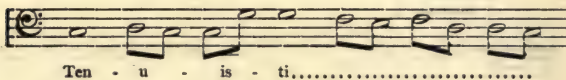


| Wavering on C. | The rise to the note. |





| Unsteadiness in sustaining G. | Similarly on E. |

which, written as Gregory writes it, becomes



a. de - dux - is - ti  
me - et...  
cum glo - ri - a.  
as - sumps - sis - ti - me.

So constant and common had these ,  &c., become, that regular characters had to be invented to express them by, which are ill represented by our tied minims, &c., with which we have attempted to render them.

And for the last instance we will take this, which is also from the services for Palm Sunday,<sup>2</sup>

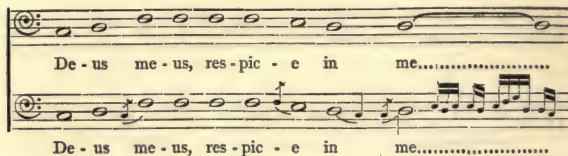
<sup>1</sup> Gradual for Palm Sunday. Antiphonaire de St. Gregoire. St. Gall MS.

<sup>2</sup> Tract for Palm Sunday. Gregory's Antiphony. St. Gall MS.



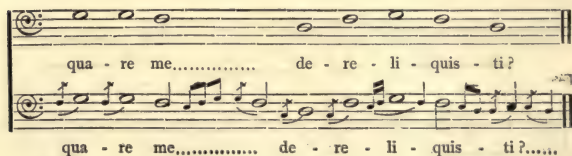
Deus,.....

Deus,.....



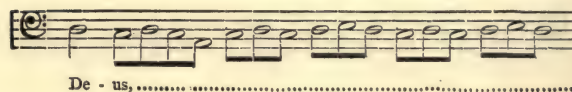
De - us me - us, res - pic - e in me.....

De - us me - us, res - pic - e in me.....

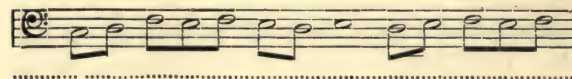


qua - re me..... de - re - li - quis - ti?

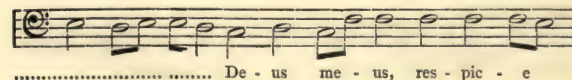
qua - re me..... de - re - li - quis - ti?.....



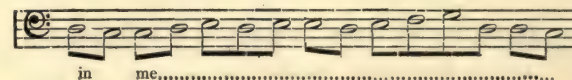
De - us, .....



.....



..... De - us me - us, res - pic - e



in me,.....



Hence then these waverings that perplex us, and this aimlessness of utterance, as it appears to be. It is the instability of the untrained voice, which began to chant without a knowledge of singing, and having nothing but its own earnestness for its guide, in lieu of rules of Art; the result of which has been to land us in a chaos of undisciplined sound, not only replete with faults of ignorance, but rendered still more wild and formless by its antirhythmic spirit. For when Rhythm is banished from Music, the Voice, without a steadier, wastes its powers like fire among the stubble, and never comes to any good. Nor indeed can we see what principle there is to guide it, beyond its own wanton fancy. For out of all those Graduals, Antiphons, Introits, which the Book of St. Gregory contains, how few are there which possess even the regularity of the Tones, to which the Psalms were sung! but most are the loose chaotic music which we at present describe. And the character of them is this:—there are a few words, and then a syllable is hung on and toyed with, and there the voice wilfully wavers as long as the breath lasts. And then a few more words, and another pausing and clinging about a syllable. And one would think indeed that perhaps the emphatic syllable would be chosen for this, but it is not so, and mere idle fancy guides selection. Generally it is the end one, and this the



voice will cling to as long as the breath lasts. With justice were these long sung syllables called *Neumes* (*Pneumes*), or "Breaths," for their whole extent, and even their form, in a measure, seems to be determined by the breath, for when the breath is going, the voice sinks, and this makes the cadence, or fall, that ends them.

And to show their character in this light, let us take two or three Graduals, or other pieces from St. Gregory's Book, which was called the Antiphony, because it contained the Antiphons, or Anthems, which the Christians sung. And we shall see that this is their character. And then we will pass from them to the residue of another music which yet remained in the world, not quite dead, and destined one day, though in the far future, to revive and triumph over the world again.

And here is a Gradual from St. Gregory's Antiphony, like them all, an ancient Christian Chant, and in his Antiphony it is set down to be sung on Christmas Eve.

The musical notation consists of five staves, each beginning with a C-clef (soprano, alto, tenor, and two bass clefs). The notes are connected by horizontal lines, indicating long, sustained syllables. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words spanning across multiple staves. The final staff ends with a double bar line and a series of dots.

Ve - ni do - mi - ne.....  
et..... no - li..... .. tar - da - re  
re - lax - - - a fac - in -  
- o - ra .....

ple - bis tu - æ

## GRADUAL FOR CHRISTMAS MORNING.

Dixit dominus domino meo: sede a dextris meis.

Donec ponam inimicos vestros: scabellum pedum tuorum.

Alleluia.

Dix - it do - mi - nus do - mi - no me

o:

se - de..... a dex - tris.....

me .....

is. Do - nec po -

nam..... in - im - ic - os.....

tu - os..... sca -

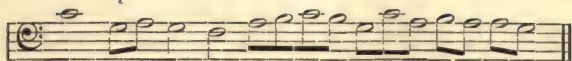
bel .....

lum.....

pe - - - dum tu - or - um.....

Al -

le - - - lui - a.....

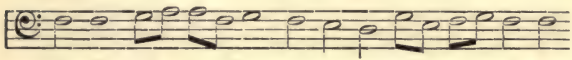


## GRADUAL FOR THE 3rd. SUNDAY AFTER CHRISTMAS.

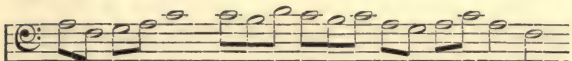
Misit dominus verbum suum et sanavit eos: et eripuit eos  
de interitu eorum.

Confiteantur domino misericordiae ejus: et mirabilia ejus  
filiis hominum.

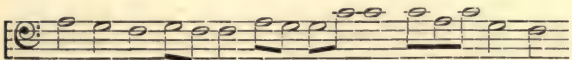
Alleluia.



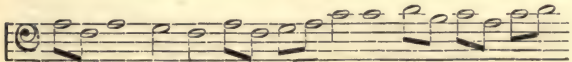
Mis - it do - - - - mi - nus



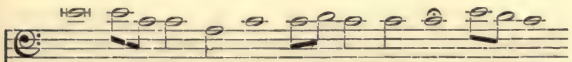
ver - - - - bum su - - -



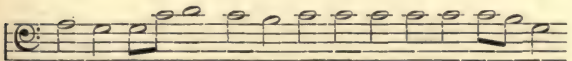
- - - - um et..... sa - na - vit.....



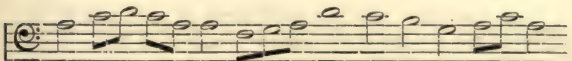
e - - - - -



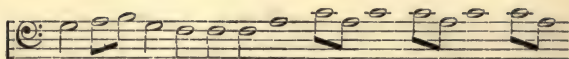
- - - - os: et e - ri - pu - it e - - -



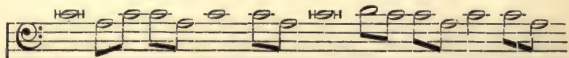
- - - - os de..... in - te - ri - tu.....



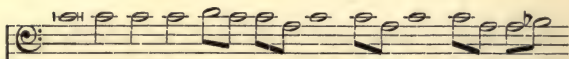
e - or - - - um.....



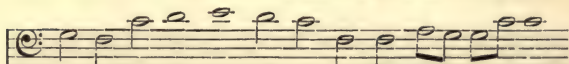
..... con - fit - e - an . . . . .



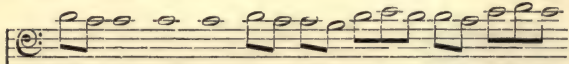
. . . . .



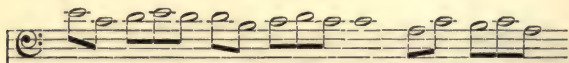
- tur do - mi - no.....



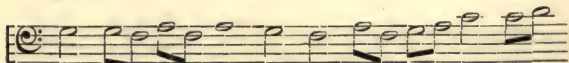
..... mi - se - ri - cor - di -



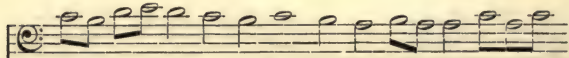
. æ.....



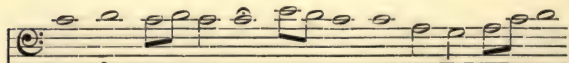
.....



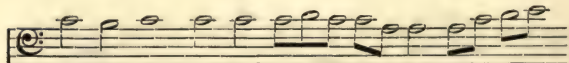
..... e . . . . .



. jus :..... et mi -

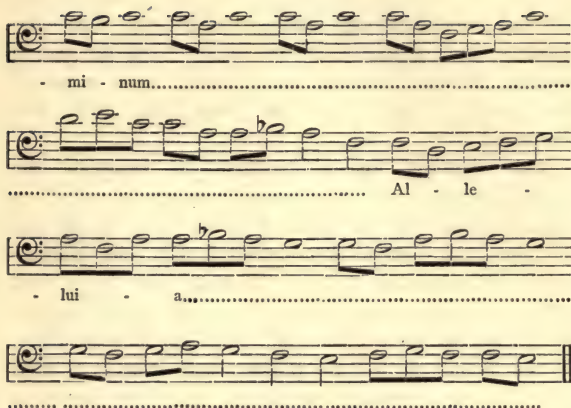


. ra - bi - li - a e . . . . . jus.....



..... fi - li - - is..... ho . . .

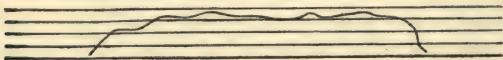




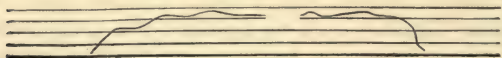
And as we read these chants, that are so unlike the former music which we knew, that gay sweet music we heard with rapture in the days of Greece—what spirit or tongue of man do they bring back to us, that sang like things before? And from the first we found two wings, the one inclined to spiritual passion, the other to the beauty of sensuous form, the one with their chants, that were but speech in music, the other with the gay dance, that brought rhythm and tune. And we have seen from the first how there were some men that leaned to one, and some to the other; the melancholy Semites, the happy Aryans, the fervent Hebrews, and the laughing Greeks. And we predicted that a day would come when these two forces should be brought face to face on the stage of the civilised world, and now behold it come! For the Christian and the Pagan are the Hebrew and the Greek; for the Christians, indeed, whose faith came from Judæa, and who for all their early centuries were led by Jewish teachers and apostles,

did but repeat, though they gave it new birth, the character and tradition of the Jews. And the chants of the Hebrew prophets were heard once more in the world. And now for the time they had conquered.

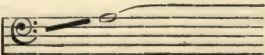
And pausing for a moment to examine the Christian chants in this second point of view, as the inheritors of the Hebrew form and spirit, let us take their music in connection with the Hebrew verse, and examine it so. And we will begin first with the simple form of the Tones, or plain singing of the psalms verse by verse. And the Hebrew verse, as we found it in the psalms, was composed, each verse, of two parallel members. And the music, it is plain, in like manner admits a treatment like this:—For half belongs to one parallel member, and half to the other; and as we express the duality in the words by a colon (:), so we ought to have some device to express it in the music by. And having taken the waved line as the main outline of the Chant,



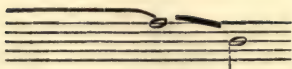
we will express the duality, or parallelism, of the members, by a break in the line, thus:—



by which it is plainly shown, that the chant is in reality a combination of two things, first, an ascent

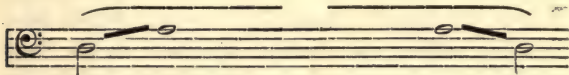
of the voice, as to  and then

its descent again from



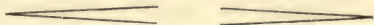
and

this last note we may actually set down as the Tonic of the Mode, for we found that this was what Gregory always laid before him as the principle of structure, that the Tone should always end on the Tonic of its Mode. Now we may describe the form then as an ascent to the Dominant note of the Scale, a pause there, and then a descent to the Tonic, and represent it freely as this:—



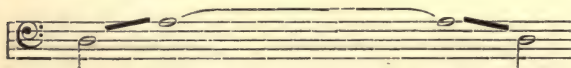
Now of these two parts it is plain that neither could stand without the other, but both though separate are still dependent on each other. The Antecedent implies a Consequent, the Subject a Predicate, the Question an Answer. And we have before taken the Angle  $\Lambda$  as the type of all Musical Form, because it is composed of two lines, a rising line and a falling line, both of which are necessary, and in such a position, to the existence of the angle: and we find that it has worked its way through, and imprinted itself as unmistakeably on Christian song, as before it had made itself visible on primitive Greek Art, when first we paused to consider it.

Such then being the similarity between the two styles, we may well go on to consider the differences. And comparing the Hexameter with the Chant, the Hexameter also rose towards the middle (it was through its emphasis that we saw it, for of its tones we could not speak), and sank again in a cadence at the end; and we represented it thus:

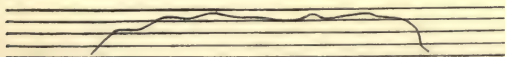


It, too, like the Christian or Hebrew Chant, was formed of two parts, being formed of two short lines, as the other of two parallel members. But here the resemblance ends, and henceforth begin the differences. For the two parts of the Hexameter were locked together into a perfect unity, but the two parts of the Chant appeared as parallel members to the last. And the unity of the one and disintegrity of the other is a type of their subsequent developments. For how did the Greek Form go on to develop. By laboriously adding line to line, till a symmetrical Period was formed. By adding Period to Period, till a Periodic outline was formed, in which Greek Form reached its climax, and as the Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode, has already been considered in these pages. But how is Christian Form developing—and we may well consider these extended Graduals, Introits, &c., as developments of the simple chant? What form, what aspect shall we pick out of these chaoses of notes, and say that such and such a form has grown? And if we look at them narrowly, we shall find that Nature has engrafted a form on them such as we could never imagine, and which Art certainly would never have devised. But knowing how they were the very flower of Nature, this form indeed seems the likeliest that could have come. For in saying that the spoken sentence gave the chant its peculiar musical inflection, that, namely, of a rise and a fall, or waved line, and that every sentence we utter does actually possess this inflection of voice, we have not yet referred this to its primary cause, which it is plain is attributable to the behaviour of our breath. For if our breath were limitless, sustained tone would be endless, with no cadence ever at the end, because the breath would never die away.

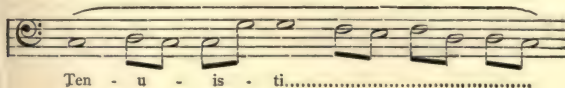
But as it is, the breath comes, and then it goes again; and in this time the clause or sentence, or that musical sentence, the chant, is uttered; and reflects in its tone the coming and going of the breath. Now in a much extended piece, the breath will come and go several times instead of once. And in this way did Christian form receive its development. For if we examine these extended Introits, Graduals, &c., we shall find that their Form is a collection of little chants, little rises and falls, that are plainly dependent for their duration on the necessities of the breath, and all more or less exactly repeating the original form of a rise to a Dominant note, a pause there, and then a fall to the Tonic,



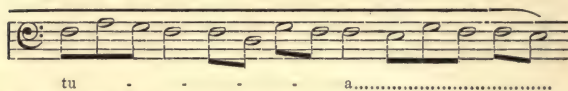
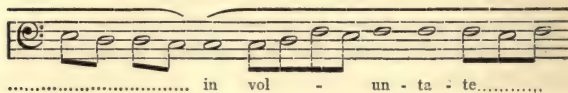
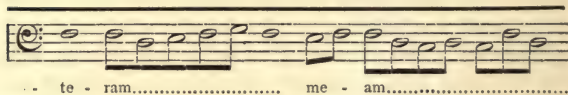
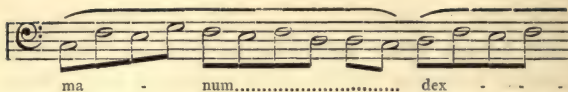
which is the musical equivalent of that waved line of vocal inflection,



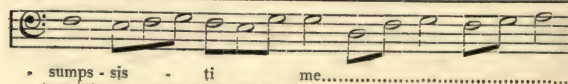
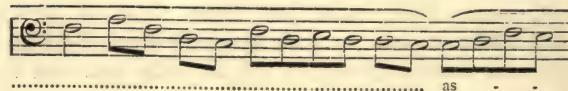
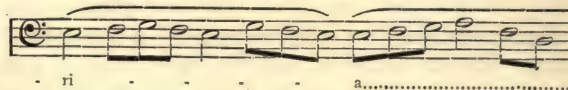
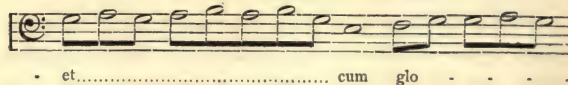
which is the sentence. And because, in these extended pieces, one sentence of words is frequently the sum total of the piece, being extended and played with, as we have seen, the voice takes words or groups of words for its sentences, and the whole piece is but a series of repetitions of the primitive form. For we will draw slurs round the little slabs of form, and taking as our example some of these Graduals we have already quoted, it will be easily seen that it is as we say:—

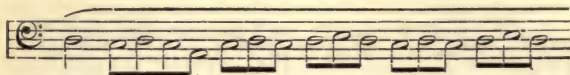
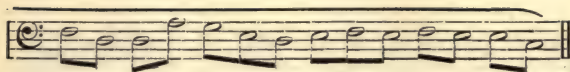




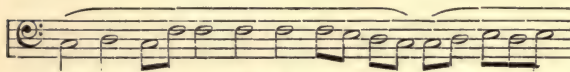
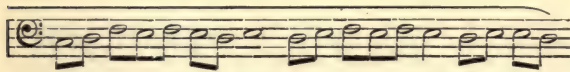


*This wants the Cadence.*

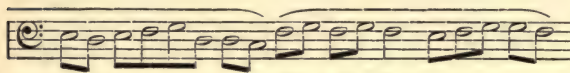




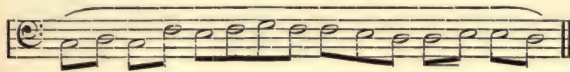
Deus, .....



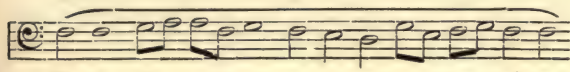
De - us me - us, res - pic - e in me.....



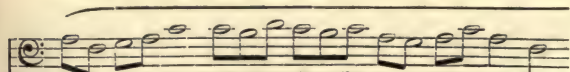
qua - re me.....



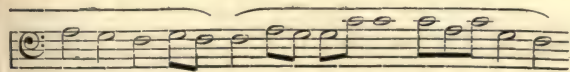
de - re - li - quis - ti ?.....



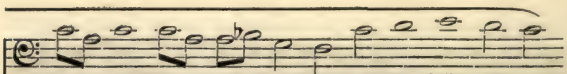
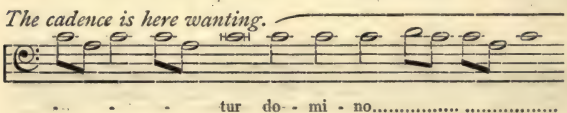
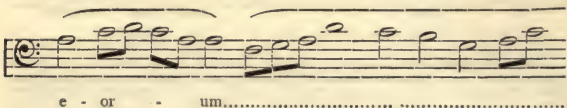
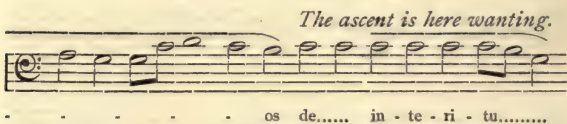
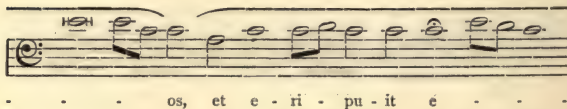
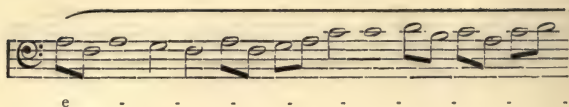
Mis - it do - - - mi - nus

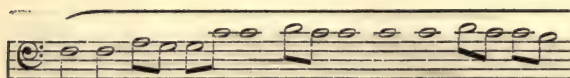


ver - - - bum su - - -

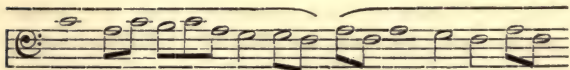
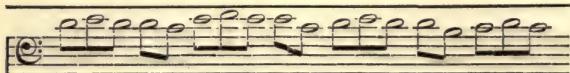


um et..... sa - na - vit.....





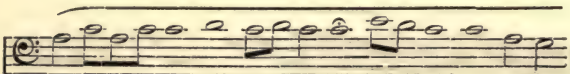
mi - se - ri - cor - di - æ.....



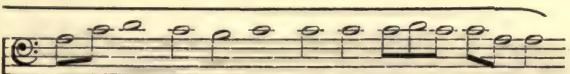
e - - - -



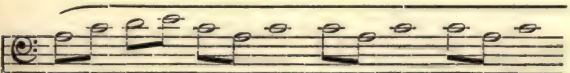
- - - - jus.....



et mi - ra - bi - li - a e - - - -



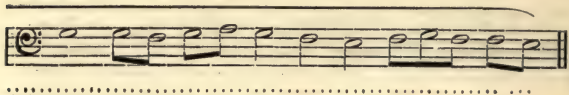
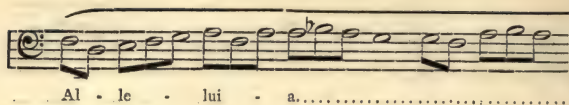
- jus..... fi - li - - is.....



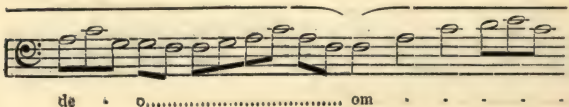
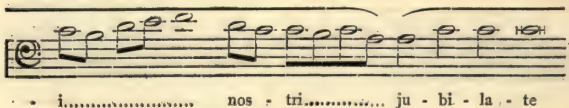
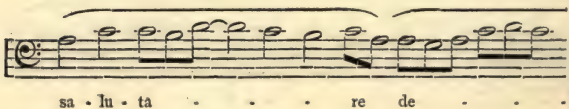
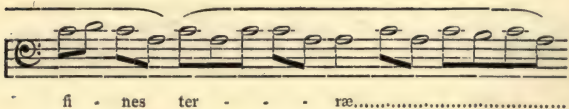
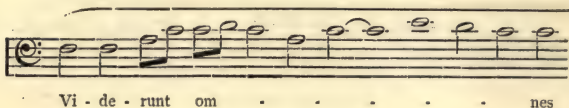
ho - - - mi - num.....



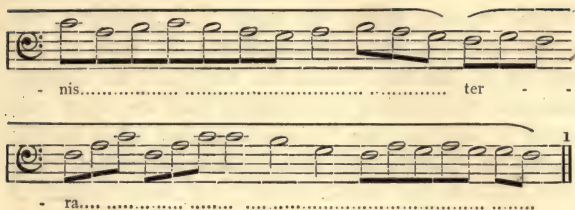
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And to take a last instance, and we might multiply them for ever, the Gradual, "*Viderunt omnes fines terræ*," because it is a well known one, and is the first one to occur to us,







Here, then, we have the climax of Christian Form, as it has developed thus far, and we see how completely different is the path it has followed, and what different results it has arrived at, to what Greek or Pagan Form had done before it. And the main cause, as I take it, of their dissimilarity, is the absence of Rhythm in the one and its presence in the other. For Rhythm in Music has a cementing and arranging power, and when it is absent, we see how loose at the best the form becomes. And also this may be seen in the handling of the individual words. What surprising difference do we find in these words that are paused and wavered on and dealt so wilfully with, and that firm march of the syllables in Greek Music, with the voice strong and self-controlled!

And now, then, we will pass in quest of that very music—not going indeed to the art of Constantinople in search of it, where it lingered in senility and decay, repeating in its dotage very much the faults and weaknesses of its rival; but searching for some healthy residue, if in some outlying quarter it may be found. And they say that before St. Gregory had commenced his arrangement of Christian music, St. Ambrose of

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<sup>1</sup> Gradual from the Third Mass on Christmas Day. St. Gregory's Antiphony. St. Gall. MS.

Milan in the North of Italy had attempted the same, and that he had made use of four of the ancient Modes, the Dorian, the Phrygian, the Lydian, and the Mixolydian, as Gregory had employed the eight, to regulate the Christian song by. But coming earlier in history, and before Christianity had quite overwhelmed the world, there was much more of Pagan elements in his work, and less that was decidedly Christian. Besides Ambrose himself was more under Pagan influences than Gregory, who except as an opponent was scarcely touched by them. Gregory was a bitter assailant of Pagan art. We know that he destroyed the Palatine Library, because it contained so many Pagan Books; and other things of the same kind also are told of him. Ambrose began life as a Roman magistrate; and in Milan, which was a second Rome, for the capital of Italy had been transferred there by Maximian, and it was a frontier town, and somewhat beyond the circle of the new ideas, the old influences retained much of their force; besides which there are undoubted signs of a Pagan revival at his time, as we shall hereafter allude to. So then his arrangement of Christian song had a Pagan strain running through it, which in Gregory's we look for in vain. And first, it is characteristic in his treatment of the Modes, that he made use of the *Mese*, or Subdominant, that is, the 4th of the Mode, for his principal note,<sup>1</sup> instead of the 5th as Gregory did: and this is eminently Greek, for in Greek Music the chief note was ever the Subdominant. And also we hear that the Chromatic, which is the Instrumental

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<sup>1</sup> This may be gathered from the Ambrosian Cadence, as it was called, which was a descent from the 4th to the Tonic, instead of from the 5th, as with Gregory.

style of scale, was employed by Ambrose in some of his music.<sup>1</sup> And this we know was not admitted by Gregory. So that how much nearer was the Ambrosian song to Pagan Art, even in these respects, than the Gregorian! And in another respect that we have yet to mention, it was nearer still: For it is always described as "*mensurabilis et harmonicus*,"<sup>2</sup> that is, there was rhythm in it, and the natural result of rhythm, there was tune. A sort of wild phrasing, indeed, he contrived to impress on the wayward music, which he could have gained nowhere else but from the art of the Greeks, and, says Guido, "phrase answered phrase, and figure answered figure, and there was a vein of resemblance uniting the oft contending parts."<sup>3</sup> Something plastic and definite therefore we may here imagine, in place of that vagueness of form which we found in Gregorian Song. As indeed we may see for ourselves that it was so, by looking at that great psalm, the Te Deum, which since the time of Ambrose began to be used in the Christian services, being composed by Ambrose himself. For it was at the baptism of St. Augustine, when St. Ambrose was baptising him at Milan, as they stood there dressed in white, after the manner of such ceremonies, they sang this psalm by inspiration, for the Holy Ghost inspired them. And if we look at it, we shall find that what Guido says is true, and how phrase answers phrase and figure figure, and how there is a vein of melody running through it in consequence of this simple

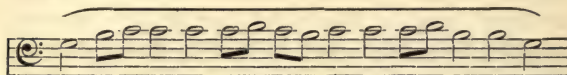
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<sup>1</sup> The Chromatic was certainly used in the hymn, "Ut queant laxis." See Regino de Prum. fol. 3.

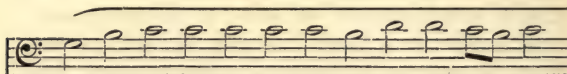
<sup>2</sup> S. Ubaldo. Disquisitio de cantu a S. Ambrosio &c. Abstedius also in his Encyclopædia. lib. XX. De Musica. Cap. 10. "Ambrosiana musica vocatur '*mensurabilis*.'"

<sup>3</sup> Guido. Micrologus. cap. xi.

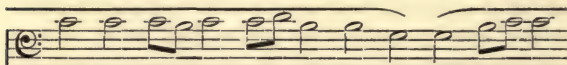
symmetry, which we look for in vain in the psalms of Gregory. For such passages as these are common in it,



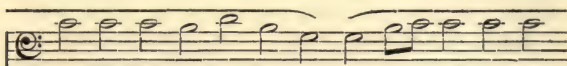
Per sin - gu - los di - es be - ne - di - ci - mus te



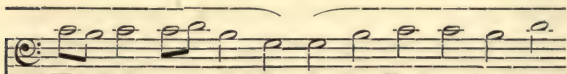
Et lau - da - mus no - men tu - um in sæ - cu - lum



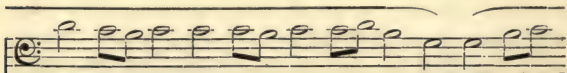
et in sæ - cu - lum sæ - cu - li Dig - na - re



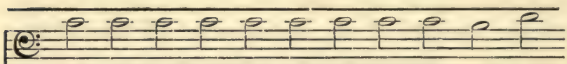
do - mi - ne di - e is - to si - ne pec - ca - to



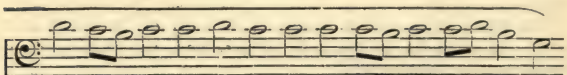
nos cus - to - di - re Mi - se - re - re no - bis



do - mi - ne mi - se - re - re no - bis Fi - at

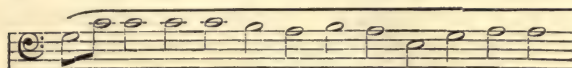


mi - se - ri - cor - di - a tu - a do - mi - ne

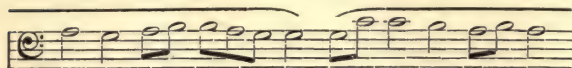


su - per nos quem ad - mo - dum spe - ra - vi - mus in te.

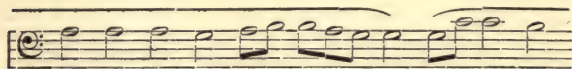
or even more symmetrical than these,



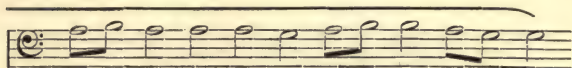
Ple - ni sunt cœ - li et ter - ræ ma - jes - ta - tis



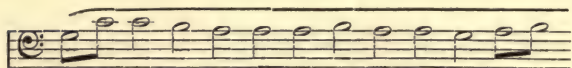
glo - ri - æ tu - æ Te glo - ri - o - sus



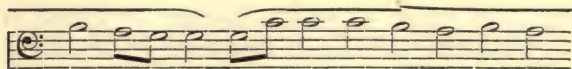
a - pos - to - lo - rum cho - rus Te pro - phe -



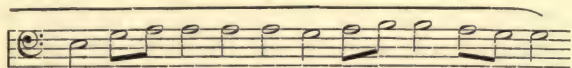
ta - rum lau - da - bi - lis nu - me - rus



Te mar - ty - rum can - di - da - tus lau - dat ex -

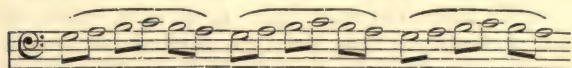


er - ci - tus Te per or - bem ter - ra - rum



sanc - ta con - fi - te - tur ec - cle - si - a.

And sometimes in short rounded phrases,

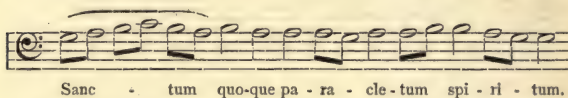


Sanc - tus, sanc - tus, sanc - tus,

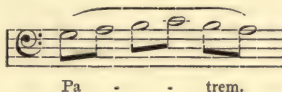
And it will be observed that many of these phrases



repeat, and in the case of the words, "Sanctus, sanctus," this repetition is peculiar for another reason, for when the word "Sanctus" occurs again further down, *viz.*, at "Sanctum quoque paracletum," we find a repetition of exactly the same melody for the word "sanctus,"



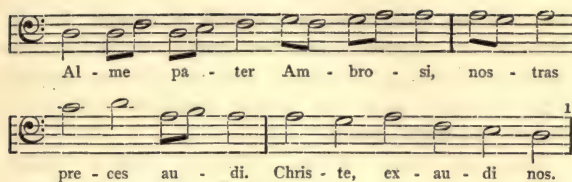
which is anticipated in a preceding phrase, that this, so to say, is balanced by,



Indeed, if we knew more of the Ambrosian song, we might find an actual periodic structure running through it, not unlike that of the Greek choruses, and each period with its character,—as this *Te Deum* itself will well admit of loose periodising, so regular is it.

And it is interesting to notice how these phrases, that answer one another, and are built so artfully together, yet all bear the same stamp as those of Gregory's music, ascending and descending — at the beginning and end, showing well what primitive origin they proceed from, however art has shaped them on the way.

Also other fragments that have come down to us of Ambrosian song show the same or even greater melodiousness, which is owing to the symmetry of their shape; as the following, for instance, which are very melodious compared to the Gregorian:—



or this,



so much so that we may bar them,<sup>3</sup> and hear a definite melody running through them.

This, then, was the Italian style of song, as opposed to the Alexandrian, or truer Christian style,<sup>4</sup> for we have said before that there were two styles, and this was Christian song under Pagan influences. And how does St. Augustine speak of it? "The sounds," he says, "floated in my ears, truth was distilled in my heart, and the feeling of devotion streamed over in sweet tears of joy!" And elsewhere<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gaforus. *Musica Utriusque Cantus*. cap. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> They are barred in Gaforus.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*. p. 22. As opposed to the sternness of the Alexandrian style, the Ambrosian was "melting" and "soft." Odo in Gerbert. *Scriptores Eccles.* I. 265.

<sup>5</sup> *Confessions*. X. 33.

he confesses that there was almost a danger in the pleasure, so opposed was the music to the genuine Christian ideas. "Ambrose was all for sweetness," says another,<sup>1</sup> and "he made wonderful efforts to secure melodious sound."<sup>2</sup>

Now we have spoken of the rhythm which characterises this Music, but there is another characteristic which comes still nearer the Pagan style, and is but a consequence of the former; and that is the syllabic treatment of the words. For while the Christian chants, as we have found them in Gregory's Gradual, were free from all dependence on syllables, taking often many syllables to the note, or many notes to the syllable, with the Greeks, on the contrary, each syllable meant one note and no more. And this principle is very nearly approached in the specimens of Ambrosian music that we have just now considered. Here, then, and through this soft side of Christian song, was it possible for Pagan art to effect an entry and a permanent lodgment, in the manner which we shall now describe.

For since the days of Greek Tragedy there had been a remarkable falling off in rhythmic vigour in the Pagan music, which indeed we may well define as decay, that besets all things and music no less than the rest. And the dotage of that music in Christianised Constantinople we have already considered, but are now to trace a healthy residue, that moved in different paths. And indeed it was the last shred of Greek Tragedy, and had been preserved in the Tragedy of

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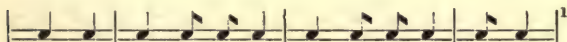
<sup>1</sup> Guido in Gaforus. *Musicæ Utriusque Cantus*. cap. 8. "Ambrosius solam modulationis dulcedinem exquisivit."

<sup>2</sup> Franco of Cologne. *De Musica*. cap. 14. "Ambrosius in sola dulcedine mirabiliter laboravit."

Rome. The fertility of rhythms in Sophocles we have seen become sugared monotony with Euripides, and still more bare and monotonous in succeeding tragedians. But by the time of Roman Tragedy, such as we find it, for instance, in the time of Nero, there had been decay indeed; so that taking the choruses of Seneca's Tragedies, we find all has given way to one main metre, the Anapæst:—



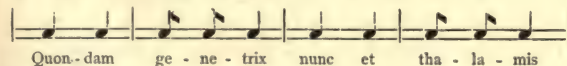
with the occasional variety, of course, of Dactyls and Spondees intermixed. Asclepiads, certainly, we sometimes find,



and occasionally Sapphics,



but that gay marshalling of rhythms, and each verse a new one, which we were accustomed to in Greek Tragedy, is gone for ever.<sup>3</sup> These very metres that we have mentioned, are most monotonously treated, and run in unbroken streams from one end of the chorus to the other. But most of all the Anapæsts, which is by far the favourite of the three, and the choruses of Seneca may well be typified by quoting at hazard such a passage as this,



<sup>1</sup> As in *Hercules Furens*. Act IV. *Thyestes*. Act I.

<sup>2</sup> Once or twice *Pherecratics*, as in the Chorus in *Thyestes*. II.

<sup>3</sup> There are only one or two instances in the whole of Seneca, as I remember, and those are very monotonous performances.

Ex - puls. - a sor - or mi - se - ran - da co - hors.



Nul - lum pi - e - tas nunc nu - men ha - bet

Quis me - a dig - ne de - fle. - re po - test

Ma - la? quæ la - cri - mis nos - tris ques - tus

Red - det a - e - don? cu - jus pen - nas

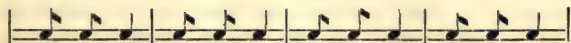
U - ti - nam mi - se - ræ mi - hi fa - ta da - rent.

To this monotony had choral metre dwindled, and out of all the ancient rhythms, the Anapæst was the one which held out and kept in favour the longest. And it was written as we see, either with Anapæstic opening , or Dactylic opening , or with the Spondee, which might stand for either. And Spondees were freely intermixed, as indeed we found them with the Greeks.

But in course of time the same decay, which had worn down the ancient metres to so small a stock, began to operate on those that remained, and as we saw the Hexameter passing from Common to Triple time under this influence, in the times of the Greeks, so may we see the same phenomenon in the case of the Anapæst, which by the time of Adrian, about 130 A.D., was commonly written,



instead of



or,



that is, with Trochees for the Dactyls, as there were Iambuses for the Anapæsts, instead of the older form,



Spondees being loosely intermixed, as we see. And in this form, that is, in Triple measure, by the time of Adrian, it was the common metre of the day, the well known ode of Adrian himself being a good example of how the change had operated, and in what form the metre now appeared:—



A - ni - mu - la va - gu - la blan - du - la,



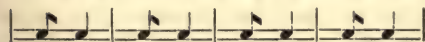
Hos - pes co - mes - que cor - po - ris,



Quæ nunc a - bi - bis in lo - ca,



Pal - li - du - la ri - gi - da nu - du - la,



Nec ut so - les da - bis jo - cos?

And in this form it was the common measure of Roman song. The tavern catches were sung in it, the squibs, the lampoons of the day were composed in it. We have *billets doux* in this metre, and messages to

pot companions, and conundrums, and cookery receipts.<sup>1</sup> And it seems to have got its hold on the popular taste all the more readily, from its likeness to the measure of the old Latin farces,



which, it will be seen, it exactly resembles, except in being half a foot longer.

So that when courtly poets, under the Christian Emperors of the later Empire, would make their verses acceptable to the princely ear, we find Christian sentiments and Christian doctrines beginning to appear in this popular measure, and forming often a strange contrast to what else was written in it. But what they did from policy, was imitated by earnest Christians in a spirit of devotion. And perhaps when we find a Christian bishop using this metre to convey Christian teachings by, we may attribute to him some such design as that which prompted Arius, Bardesanes, and other heretics, to make their doctrines into songs, *viz.*, to spread the doctrines among the common people, whose ear is always open to the charms of rhythm and tune. But this we cannot certainly say,

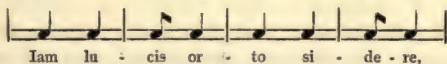
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<sup>1</sup> I have my eye particularly on Ausonius here, but earlier examples are freely forthcoming.

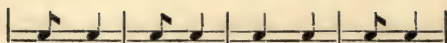
but only that Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, wrote many songs on Christian themes in this measure,<sup>1</sup> which he caused to be sung by the people in his diocese. And Ausonius and Prudentius, two court poets of the time, also wrote these Christian songs; and others that we might mention; and among the rest, Ambrose, who was doubtless influenced neither by a wish to make proselytes, nor to find favour in imperial circles, but simply imitated the best remains of Pagan Art, after the example of those who were writing these songs around him. And the songs that he wrote are described as very beautiful, and they are all in this four-foot measure like the rest, with one or two Sapphics among them, and one or two Asclepiads. And here are some of Ambrose's songs, which henceforward we may begin to call hymns, which he ordered to be sung in the Christian church at Milan, as Hilary had done before in Poitiers:—



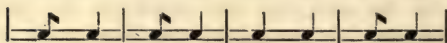
Another:—



<sup>1</sup> As "Lucis largitor splendide;" "Beata nobis gaudia;" Jesu Quadragenariæ;" "Jesus refulsit omnium," &c.



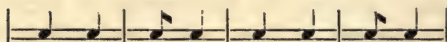
De - um pre - ce - mur sup - pli - ces,



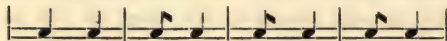
Ut in di - ur - nis ac - ti - bus



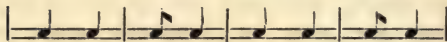
Nos ser - vet a no - cen - ti - bus,



Lin - guam re - fre - nans tem - pe - ret,



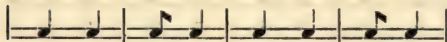
Ne li - tis hor - ror in - gru - at,



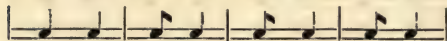
Vi - sum fo - ven - do con - te - gat,



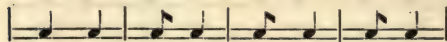
Ne va - ni - ta - tis hau - ri - at.



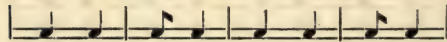
Ut cum di - es abs - ces - se - rit,



Noc - tem - que sors re - dux - e - rit,



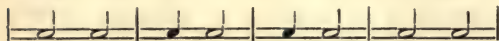
Mun - di per abs - ti - nen - ti - am



Ip - si ca - na - mus glo - ri - am.

And it will be seen that this is in stanzas of four lines each, and this was the general way of writing these Songs, or Hymns. And from the gravity of the matter, and the occurrence of so many spondees among the feet, we might well assume that the pace

was a slow one at which they were sung, and write them,



which, perhaps, when we get tidings of their melodies, we may be tempted to do: but in the meantime we have written them as we have, to bring out their affinity to the Pagan music, which we now allude to for the last time. For their music is regulated by measure, and they are written in lines, and each syllable of the words has a note in the music and no more, just as it was among the Greeks. So that there can be no doubt from what source they have come. And hereafter we may find the Hymn standing in antagonism to the Psalm, and representing another direction of Christian music. But in the meantime it was barely effecting an entry. And it was owing to a Pagan revival, as I take it, that it could do so. And we have shown Ambrose's music before, how much it was indebted to Pagan influences—but now more so. And Ausonius and Prudentius studied to introduce the elegancies of the Pagan poets into their hymns; and after them, Sedulius and Fortunatus wrote many hymns, that were most elegant in composition, of whom Fortunatus was made a Saint of the church for the beautiful hymns he wrote. And three great names in Music, that is, comparatively great, for we are in a barren age, and must judge things only by their surroundings—three names appear in Music now, Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus, and Boëthius, of whom Cassiodorus only was a Christian, but the other two were Pagans. And these men are remarkable, not for their compositions, for they were not composers, but for their learned treatises on the Art of Music, which afterwards became



the foundation of the Science of the Middle Ages. And with Martianus Capella the Musical Treatise rises to the interest of a Romance, so charming is the invention with which he surrounds it. His treatise is called, "The Nuptials of Mercury and Philology," and he supposes the marriage of Philology to Mercury; and Venus and the other deities, and also Orpheus, Amphion, and Arion, are assembled to honour the ceremony. The Sciences, who are personified as male and female, also attend, to the number of seven, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. And Music is represented as a beautiful maiden, having her head decked with a variety of ornaments, and bearing in her hand the symbol of the faculty over which she is feigned to preside. She is made to exhibit the power of musical sounds by such melody as Jupiter himself commends, and this is succeeded by a request of Apollo and Minerva that she would unfold the history of her art. She tells them that she was formerly an inhabitant of the earth, and that through the inspirations of Pythagoras, Aristoxenus, and others, she had taught men the use of the Lyre and the Pipe: and by the singing of birds, the whistling of the winds, and the murmuring of waterfalls had instructed even the artless shepherds in the rudiments of melody. That by her power she had cured diseases, quieted seditions, and attempered the irregular affections of men: notwithstanding all which, she was now despised and reviled by these sons of earth, and had therefore sought the heavens, where she found the motions of the heavenly bodies regulated by her own principles. She then proceeds to explain the precepts of the musical art in a short discourse, which, if we consider the style and method of it rather than the

substance, must be allowed to be a very elegant composition. Martianus concludes the ninth book of his treatise thus:—When Music had discoursed of these things, conceiving songs and the sweetness of verse in a manner both august and persuasive to the gods and heroes, who were very intent, she decently withdrew. Then Jupiter rose up, and Cymesis, modulating in divine symphonies, came to the chamber of the virgin, Philology, to the great delight of all.<sup>1</sup>

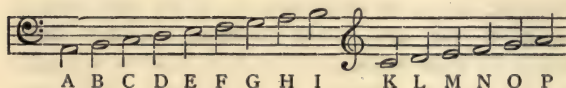
These Seven Sciences, which Martianus introduces in poetical allegory here, Cassiodorus is at pains to demonstrate as commensurate with the whole extent of human knowledge, to show which is the object of his book, *De septem disciplinis*, one of the most learned works of the age. And Boëthius considers them thus:<sup>2</sup> Of these seven, three are Moral—Rhetoric, Logic, and Grammar, which are concerned with the expression of thought, and the form in which it shall reach the minds of others, as by Rhetoric it may be made to awake their emotions, &c. And four are Mathematical or Speculative—Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy, whose aim is the investigation of truth. But in these four, Music holds a unique position, for though its main scope may be the investigation of the accuracy of intervals and the determining the due proportion of strings, &c., according to numbers, yet it must be allowed to have a practical side as well, in which it offers great affinity to the Moral Sciences. For the passions are affected by it, when it comes to the mind through the ears. And a wanton man will like wanton tunes,

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<sup>1</sup> Martianus Capella, in Hawkins. I.

<sup>2</sup> Boëthius. *De Musica*. Cap. I.

and a chaste man sober tunes ; so that moral effects may be plainly distinguished in notes and notes. Music, therefore, though for the sake of order it may be classed with the Speculative Sciences, must yet be held as occupying a middle position between the Speculative and the Moral, and combining the characteristics of both. And Boëthius reviews the whole system of ancient music in his treatise, and revives the doctrines of Pythagoras, to which he as a rule assents. And with the exception of the Modes, which he does not give us, he treats most exhaustively of the Nature of the scale, and he suggested an ingenious method of noting it, namely, by letters of the Alphabet from A to P, thus,



The names of Philolaus and Pythagoras appear now for the last time in history, and the doctrines of Plato on the nature of Music are heard once more in the philosophy of Boëthius. The true musician, says Boëthius, is not the twanger of strings or the blower of pipes, but the man who knows the nature of harmony, and has discovered the truth of musical proportions. He maintains that music is a panacea for all human infirmities, and the great healer of all ailments, whether of mind or body, steeping the soul in unruffled calm, and bringing peace and freedom from care.<sup>1</sup> And doubtless it was his music, no less than his philosophy, which enabled him to bear the long imprisonment and the inhuman tortures with which

<sup>1</sup> Boece. Cap. 34.

the Christian Emperor,<sup>1</sup> Theodoric, stamped out this last of the ancient Pagans, but could not destroy his equanimity.

And with the death of Boëthius, that Pagan revival, which we have here briefly sketched, seems to have come to an end. The world was plunged in darkness more and more, till a great darkness came, which for centuries we shall find to wrap Europe. The hymns of Ambrose were little by little banished from the church, until at last all hymns were definitely excluded from the services.<sup>2</sup> And it was about fifty years after the death of Boëthius that Gregory made his arrangement of Christian Psalms and Music, as we have said, proceeding on different lines and under other influences altogether to those which had actuated Ambrose, making an arrangement which was as free from all alloy of Pagan elements as Gregory himself was the bitter foe of the Pagan spirit. And between the Antiphonary of Ambrose and the Antiphonary of Gregory, for so were the books called, because they contained the *Antiphons*, or musical pieces, that were sung in the services, there seems for a long time to have been the greatest rivalry; and more especially in the northern parts of Italy, where Ambrose's influence had ever been strong. And for a long time there was doubt which would win the day, until at last a miracle decided the victory for Gregory. For both Antiphonaries were placed one night on the altar,

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<sup>1</sup> Christian, that is, of the Arian persuasion.



<sup>2</sup> With the exception of one or two favoured ones—St. Fortunatus' "Pangue lingua," and another one. These are the only hymns in St. Gregory's Antiphonary; and the Antiphonary in its turn must be taken as representing the normal service of the epoch, and indeed of many centuries to come.

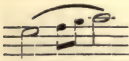
to see if Heaven would send a sign; and they were left all night on the altar. And in the morning the Antiphonary of Ambrose lay where it had been placed, but the Antiphonary of Gregory was found torn into a thousand pieces, and scattered all over the church; from which it was understood that Gregory's music would spread all over the world, but that Ambrose's would go no further than the place where Ambrose had written it, that is, in Milan.


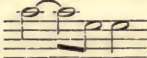
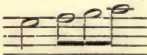
And remembering what large share Constantinople had had on Gregory's musical knowledge, we may be able to find some new and perhaps surprising features in his Antiphonary, by which it differed still more from that of Ambrose. For having found that one main feature of Ambrosian Song was as near as may be the syllabic utterance of the words, which attained its climax in the Hymn, when every syllable had one note only and no more, while the Gregorian Song, on the contrary, allowed the voice the utmost laxity, and syllables went for nothing, but now remembering that florid and querulous music of Constantinople, and how much alike was its quavering to the emotional style of the Christians, we may well surmise that Gregory must needs have been influenced more or less by what he became familiar with there, and was likely to have introduced some of these mistaken graces, imagining them beauties, as ornaments and decorations of simple Christian song. And so indeed we find it to be; but perhaps are not right in imagining that so severe a man as he would stoop to adornment or decoration, and the truth would appear to be that his very fidelity led him to make use of these things; and wishing to record Christian song exactly as it was traditionally




sung, he found that many of the graces and turns of Byzantine music came as near as might be the weaknesses and hesitations of the simple Christian singers; as an uneducated voice, that trembles on its note, is not far removed from a skilful voice, that trills there; and if we would actually record this very trembling, we might do worse than make a regular trill served to represent it. And we have

spoken before of  and  and

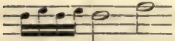
 &c., which are represented in the music as

  and  &c., but


there are many more of these things, which he has not been content to express merely loosely thus, but has gone to the artifices of Byzantine song for parallel figures, to convey them exactly as they were sung. For he often sets a figure over some notes, which we know to be the same as the *Quilisma*, or Turn, of the Byzantine music, and is called by the same name, though tradition would make a trill to be the manner of performing it, rather than the simple

turn between two notes  as we found it

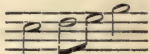
before. And this he would think aptly set at some note in the song, where the emotion of the singers used to reach a great intensity, and writing it

, he would render as near as might

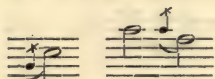
be the character of the utterance by the musical

forms he was familiar with. And that behaviour of the voice in slurring its intervals , which

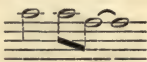
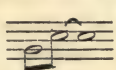
gave so peculiar a colour to the music in general,

and which is represented by the common 

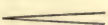
of the chants, he has chronicled more daintily at times by a figure, which is evidently the Byzantine *Antikenoma*, or Portamento. It is called *Gutturalis* by the medieval writers, and consisted in three or more sounds blended together by one movement of the throat. And the anticipations and prolongations



when they were not pronounced enough to form part of the song, as they commonly

did in the forms   —he had

the appoggiaturas of the Byzantine music, the *Lygisma*, the *Tzakisma*, the *Bareia*, to render them exactly by, and accordingly we find throughout his Antiphonary these figures of constant occurrence, which are called *Plicas*, or *Eptaphonus*, and *Cephalicus*, and are precisely the Appoggiatura, some descending and some ascending. So careful was he to preserve down to the minutest details every shade of tone, and so convenient were the idle graces of the Byzantines, from their similarity to the impassioned artlessness of Christian song. Indeed it seems in music such as this, the minutiae were almost as important, or more so than the actual notes themselves, for by their means that singular peculiarity of Christian music alone could be conveyed

—I mean, the great part that was played in it by mere expression. "Their music," it has been well said, "was the language of the passions at their greatest tension, in their strongest emotions."<sup>1</sup> And those chaoses of notes which we have before given, when speaking of the Gregorian song, were made plain and definite to the hearers, through being lit up by the most varied expression of feeling. So different was this style to that of Pagan song, which, if plastic and symmetrical, has yet something of the coldness of marble about it; but this was alive with the finest emotion. And how well has Gregory contrived to preserve this too! For every now and then, over the words and notes that need it, he has set letters to mark the expression that is to be given to these notes. And over some is written *f*, which stands for "loud," "*ut cum fragore seu frendore feriat*ur;" and over others *p* for "*pressio*," which means "soft;" and over others *m* for moderate tone or mezzo, "*mediocriter*:" other notes have *e* over them, which denotes that they must be sung smoothly, "*equaliter*;" others *t*, which like our *ten.* for *tenuto*, means that the note must be held, "*ut trahatur*." *V* is another form of *f*, standing for *valde*, "loud," while *q* is a mark of *diminuendo*, and is placed before this *V* much as we place  before a *forte*, to show that the increase in sound must be gradual.

And these marks of expression suggest these thoughts about the music, for they show us what pulses of feeling beat throughout it, and how its merit lay in expressing to the uttermost every shade of thought, being in this respect, with all its formlessness, much the superior of the Pagan song,

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<sup>1</sup> The Abbé de la Tour's Observations sur les nouveaux Breviaires.

in which accuracy of expression was often sacrificed for the sake of rhythmic contour. For while the classical musician, forgetting or ignoring the sense of individual words, would let his strain run on with no thought but to round off the melody well, the Christian music rises and falls with every throb of sentiment,<sup>1</sup> and having for its aim, so near was it to nature, the exact reflection of the language. For how many passages might we quote like the following, where the sound is such a partner to the sense :—

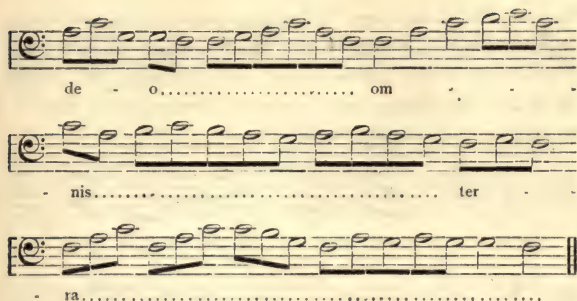
Vi - de - runt om - - - - nes

fi - nes ter - - - - ræ.....

sa - lu - ta - - - - re de - - - -

- i..... nos - tri..... ju - bi - la - te

<sup>1</sup> In allusion to the above, I may well translate from Baini's *Memorie storico-critiche sopra la vita di G. Pierluigi da Palestrina*. II. 82: "The execution of the Gregorian Song was of a great delicacy, and conformable to the style indicated by the figures of the notation. I have read in certain ancient authors that they made common use of the *piano*, *crescendo*, *diminuendo*; also of trills, groups, and mordentes; sometimes accelerating the song, sometimes retarding it; the voice passing by degrees from *piano* to *pp.*, and developing thence to the loudest *forte*. The art of the *portamento* was known and practised. Hence the immense satisfaction of the hearers, as many passages in the Holy Fathers attest," &c. &c.



where that high ascent on the word, "Dei," is admirably representative of the glory which they would give to "God," and also that prolonged note of triumph at the "Jubilate" is just the exultation of Christians in the summons to "rejoice."

Or let us take a passage such as this, "*Bonum est sperare in domino*," "It is a good thing to trust in the Lord," and what notes of wild rapture at the "*Bonum*," as of men who from their hearts believed it was so!—





Or in the following, "*Universi qui te expectant non confundentur, Domine,*" if the voice wavers on "*expectant,*" how firm does it become on "*non confundentur,*" "they shall never be confounded," singing it almost syllable for syllable!

Un - si qui te ex - pec -  
tant..... non con -  
fun - den - tur.....

And many more apposite than these we might quote.

And let us now, to conclude, write these or others, with all Gregory's marks of expression and devices to render the tiniest fluctuations of tone, and we shall see what vast lore of musical language he had gathered together, and with what pains and art this compilation of Christian song had been made, so that we may well admire how wonderful a transcription it is of vocal utterance, such as never perhaps had been seen in the world before:—

*f* *ritard.* *acce -* *le - rando.*  
Do - mi - ne..... de - re -

*accelerando.* *rall.*

lic tus ..... pau -

*accel.* *rit.* *f*

per pu -

*cres.* *f* *accel.* *accel.* *lento.* 1

pil - lo.....

*f* *accel.* *rall.* *acc - el -*

Sci - ant..... gen -

*er - ando.*

tes..... quo - ni - am.....

*accel - er - ando.*

tu so - - - lus.....

*ral - len - tando.*

al - tis - si - mus su - per om - - -

*rall.* *rall.*

- nem.... ter - - - ram.....

<sup>1</sup> Antiphonaire de St. Gregoire. St. Gall. MS.



Such then was the skill of Gregory in selecting from the jaded art of Constantinople whatever suited his purposes, and gaining thereby a consummate means of musical expression, without which the record of the emotional Christian song had been plainly impossible. For the elder and purer Pagan music, with its bold and simple outlines, and strong rhythmic character, would not have helped him at all, even if it had been accessible to him. And so rejecting some things and retaining others, let us see what he rejected and what he retained: And of the graces of song he rejected many that were plainly artificial, and retained only those that were a near approach to nature. And he retained the scale in the musical system, and of the Modes he retained eight but rejected four, that is, the Middle Modes. And he rejected the Enharmonic genus, because probably it was too difficult of execution, and the Chromatic, because it was instrumental and to a certain extent artificial. Likewise those degenerate forms of these, the Soft and Hemiolian Chromatic, and the Soft Enharmonic, he also rejected; retaining only the Diatonic genus, in which all his music is set. And time marks and rhythmic measurings &c., were plainly of no use to him, since the Christian music had nothing in common with time or rhythm. And these too he rejected.

And, having finished his collection, he had formed a unity, which was, so to speak, the Epic of Christian Music. And in its character it most strikingly resembled

the music which it represented and contained. For it was not like other Epics, a beautiful and symmetrical whole; but a unity of fragments roughly pieced together, as the music has been found to be but strings of rudely jointed phrases, lying side by side, with little order and no art; so Gregory's Antiphonary is a series of unconnected Graduals and Antiphons, with no bond of union but a common spirit which holds them all together. And now, as we have said, the Ambrosian Song, with its melodious forms and rhythmic hymns, which was the Pagan element predominant, was fast retreating, or had already retreated into obscurity and neglect before the Christian Song of Gregory. All hymns were banished from the services, for there was something Pagan and heretical about them, for these were what the heretics had sung, and Arius, Bardesanes, Valentine, were names of execration in the universal dominion of Christianity. And having finished his Antiphonary then in the manner that we have described it, Gregory bound it by a chain on the altar of St. Peter's, to be a canon and norm of Christian Song for ever.



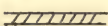
## CHAPTER V.


THE Indians cut notches in sticks to record their music by;<sup>1</sup> the Peruvians tied knots in string for the same purpose.<sup>2</sup> And using these sticks or string as we use a music-sheet they could sing their songs with ease by the help of this rude notation.


But the Indians have got further than "music-sticks," as they call them. They have regular Music Boards, which are flat pieces of the bark of a birch tree, on which they draw or paint the characters of their music.<sup>3</sup> And these characters are very limited in number, and very elementary, as we may well imagine. For when the tune is to go up, they draw the figure of a little man with his hands up, so,



and this indicates an ascent of the voice.<sup>4</sup>

And when it is to continue at the same level, they draw this sign,  And they have another sign

for an ascent of the voice,  which, it must be allowed, is admirably expressive of the meaning.

And a sign for a high and sudden ascent 

<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft. I. chap. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega. II. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Schoolcraft. loc. cit.


<sup>4</sup> Kohl's Wanderings round Lake Superior. p. 287.




which also conveys it well. And if the voice is to move smoothly and wavily—we might almost say if it is to slur its notes—they draw the figure of



a man on a curved line, thus, Also they have a sign for a repeat, which it is not so easy to

understand, , and a sign for a pause, which is

very like our double bar  And these form

their musical notation.<sup>1</sup>

And they place these here and there in their songs among the words—whenever, we suppose, there is a danger of the tune eluding the memory of the singer,<sup>2</sup> or when it takes an unexpected turn, which these marks recall; and sometimes, when the words are learnt by heart, these signs are placed alone, as in the following song, (and it will be seen that their words are written by pictures, for they are still in the stage of picture writing) :—

*A Wigwam.*



I enter into  
the wigwam of  
the Medés,



and bring a  
fine sacrifice.

*Sign of Repeat.*



The words and  
music of the  
preceding must  
therefore be  
sung twice.



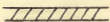
I have come  
here to pray  
thee,

<sup>1</sup> Kohl's Wanderings round Lake Superior. p. 287. sq.

<sup>2</sup> "When he began to sing," says Kohl of the Indian whom he heard, "his voice went up and down as he looked at the music in accordance with the notes to which he pointed with his finger." p. 290.

*A Bear.*

That thou wilt  
give me this animal,  
the Bear.

*A Path.*

I will walk on  
the right path  
for it.



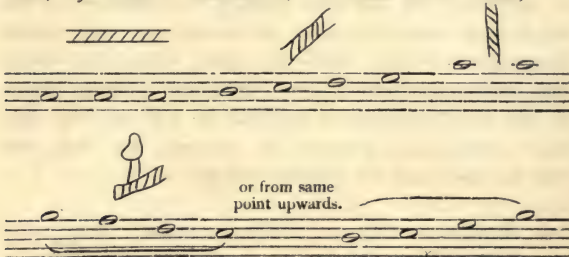
Now I have walked  
long enough, and  
my medicine sack  
is strengthened.<sup>3</sup>



*During these last signs, the following words must be sung, of which they give the music:*

"Give me this animal, as thou didst promise to do, when I go hunting in the backwoods. Thou saidst to me, 'I will bless thee with my abundance, and thou shalt even see thy table full. There will always be a beast for thee.'"

If we were to interpret these musical signs, then, by modern characters, we must write them,



for beyond the slur, the value of this sign is doubtful.

These signs then, it will be seen, are attempts to make pictures of the sound, as the words in their writing are pictures of the objects. And musical notation begins, as the notation of language does, with picture writing.

<sup>3</sup> Kohl. loc. cit.

Now whether the knot music of the Peruvians had anything in common with this, we cannot say, but should imagine not, and that it proceeded on a different principle altogether. And hearing that the Peruvian Knot-writing was principally used to keep registers and censuses and accounts, &c.,<sup>1</sup> that is, that its scope was in the main an arithmetical one, we may suppose that such a writing applied to music would be chiefly devoted to registering the Rhythm of the music, as so many knots would denote so many beats or measures, and the melody of the songs would be left out of the question, and only this part of them recorded in the Knot Music, as indeed the rhythm was left out of the question, and only the melody attended to, in the picture music.

Such are the rude beginnings of Musical Notation that meet us at the threshold of things. And these two instances are the only ones we have news of. For most savages,<sup>2</sup> and even elder nations of antiquity, such as the Egyptians, for instance,<sup>3</sup> were content to note their songs by words alone, and make no attempt to register the tone, which is but a shirking of the question, and implying, as it does, that the tune must in all cases be learnt by heart, can be of no aid to us in examining the notation of music.

Nor do we find any further attempts in this way till a considerable period after the savage state, and at a much later stage of musical development, when men had passed from a mere general estimate of

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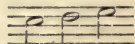
<sup>1</sup> Tylor. *Early History of Mankind*. p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. the songs quoted in Schoolcraft I. 401. in Catlin, and most of those in Engel are merely picture writings of the words.

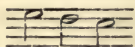
<sup>3</sup> e.g. the Egyptian Threshing Song from the Tomb at Eileithyias translated by Champollion, is merely concerned with the words.

musical tone to an acquaintance with the actual notes that composed it; when, that is to say, they could

construe an upward sweep of sound into

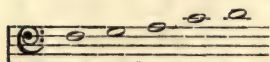


and a downward one into




and

then, and it is to the Chinese we must go for this second system of notation, being acquainted with the notes that composed the scale, they named the notes, and used these names to note their music by.<sup>1</sup> And the Chinese, who had but Five notes in their scale,




called the lowest one The

Emperor (*Koung* ) , because it was the base and foundation of the Scale, and all the other notes, so to speak, depended upon it. And the Second one




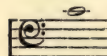
they called the Prime Minister (*Tschang*


) , because they thought its sound had something sharp and harsh about it, and for this reason they called it the Prime Minister. And the Third note



, which they consider to have a soft and

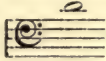
mild tone, they called the Subject, because subjects must always be soft and mild in their behaviour, and 'subject' in Chinese is *Kio*,  . And the Fourth




they called Public Business (*Tsche* ) ,

<sup>1</sup> La Borde. Essai sur la Musique. I. 144.

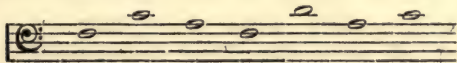
because it is a quick and energetic tone, and public business must be quickly and energetically conducted.

And the Fifth , which they hold to be the

most brilliant and majestic of the tones, they called Yu (  ), that is, "The Mirror of the Universe," because all that is brilliant and excellent in musical nature is concentrated in this tone. And having named their notes in this way, henceforth they had a perfect system of musical notation always to hand, for they had merely to write the names of the notes one after another, and everything was intelligible to the singer or player; as Koung, Tsche, Kio, Koung, Yu, Kio, Tsche, or, in Chinese characters,

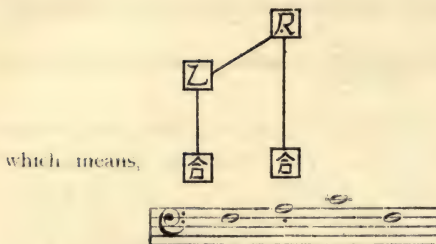
合 R 乙 合 工 乙 R

is quite as intelligible to the musician, as that we translate it by,

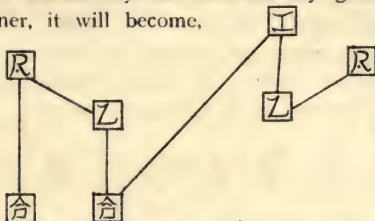


and this they would place either side by side with the words, or, if it were an instrumental piece of music, they would write the notes by themselves. And sometimes, as if for the sake of greater clearness, and possibly it was to help the singers to measure the intervals between the notes better, they would write each note on a little square by itself, and join them by lines in the direction the tune was going, setting them at proportionate heights, in this way,





or, to treat the melody we have already given in the same manner, it will become,



But this is by no means the commonest way of doing, and is but seldom employed, because the other way, with the names of the notes ranged side by side, as we have given them before, is quite sufficient for all purposes, being readily intelligible to all who know their meanings.<sup>1</sup>

But what is easy and natural to the Chinese, with whom a word and a letter is the same thing, becomes cumbrous and troublesome to other nations, whose words contain many letters. And the Chinese could write their music with rapidity and freedom, setting the name always for the note, because the name was merely a letter, easily written, and the system was an

<sup>1</sup> The whole question of Chinese notation is admirably treated in August Reissmann's *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*.

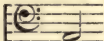
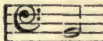
eminently manageable one. But let us see how cumbrous such a method became with the Greeks, for instance. For the Greeks, too, like the Chinese, had a name for every note. Their lowest note was called *Proslambanomenos*. The next *Hypate Hypaton*. The next *Parhypate Hypaton*. The next *Lichanos Hypaton*, &c., as we have already given in former pages. But to write these long names, time after time, for each note as it occurred, was plainly out of the question, since the Greeks, unlike the Chinese, could not express a word by a single letter. They were therefore reduced to employing an arbitrary set of symbols for the notation of their music, taking the letters of the alphabet to stand for the notes. But while there were only twenty-four letters in the Alphabet, and there were eight Modes to be accounted for, and later on there were fifteen, each having three forms, its Diatonic, Enharmonic, and Chromatic form, besides those varieties of Chromatic and Enharmonic, the Soft Chromatic, &c., which we have before described, and, in addition to these, there was the simple scale of eighteen Notes, which must be kept distinct from the Modes—and letters had to be found for all these; they were put to the most unnatural shifts to express this abundance of musical tone. And sometimes they would have one letter for one note, and the same letter lying on its side for another note, and the same letter upside down for another note. Then they would halve letters, and have the top part to stand for one note, and the bottom part for another note; and introduce new signs that were not letters at all, though something like them. And all these devices they employed to note their music by. And indeed, as if in a spirit of bravado, or out

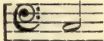
of a superabundance of inventive genius, they nearly always set two optional signs for every note, so that their musical notation is very complicated indeed. For let us first give the simple scale in Greek notation, and we shall see that the symbols are purely arbitrary, and very difficult without long practice to understand :—

7 or 4    7 or 7    R or L    Ø or F    C    P or U  
 M or 7    I or <    ® or V    H or >    U or Z  
 Z or 7    E or 7    U or Z    Ø or 7    λ or 7    M' or 7  
           7' or < <sup>1</sup>

which, read off into our notation, is,



that is, 7 or 4 for  7 or 7 for 

R or L for  and so on.

And now we will give one of the Modes in the same manner. And taking the Dorian Mode, we will write it in its Diatonic form by preference, besides which there are the Enharmonic and Chromatic forms, if we cared to set them down :—

#### DORIAN MODE. DIATONIC.

7 or 7    7 or E    7 or 7    7 or 7    7 or 7  
 7 or 7    7 or 7    7 or 7    7 or 7    7 or 7

<sup>1</sup> Bacchius Senior. Eisagoge. in Meibomius. For the Synemmenon, Alypius in Meibomius. 23.

M or  $\eta$     Λ or  $\Delta$     H or  $>$     Γ or N    B or /  
 ✕ or  $\wedge$     L or  $\lambda$  <sup>1</sup>

And each of the Fifteen Modes had similarly different signs.

And these letters or signs were set over the words that were to be sung, as we may see from the following specimen, and in this way the music was written :—

σ Ζ Ζ    φ φ    σ    σ  
 "Αειδε Μοῦσά μου φίλη

ῖ    φ Μ Μ  
 μολπῆς δ' ἑμῆς κατάρχου.

Ζ Ζ Ζ    Ε    Ζ Ζ ῖ ῖ  
 αὔρη δὲ σῶν ἀπ' ἀλσέων

ΜΖΝ    ῖ φ σ    ρ Μ φ σ  
 ἑμῆς φρένας δονείτω.

σρ Μ ρ σ    φ ρ  
 Καλλιόπεια σοφά

φ Ν σ    σ σ σ Ζ    β φ  
 μουσῶν προκαθαγετί τερπνῶν.

ρ    φ σ    ρ Μ ῖ Μ  
 καὶ σοφὲ μυστοδότα

Μ ῖ    Ε Ζ    Γ Μ ρ    σ Μ ῖ  
 Λατοῦς γόνε Δήλιε Παιᾶν,

Μ ῖ Ζ    Μ φ σ    σ  
 εὐμενεῖς πάρεστέ μοι.

<sup>1</sup> Alypius. *Introductio Musica.* p. 19.


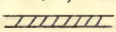
and the music of this we have given in a former part of this history. And we may see, by examining the above specimen, how hard to learn must the notation have been, of which this is only one Mode out of fifteen, and only the Diatonic form of that mode.


Now had an arbitrary notation by letters been limited to expressing the simple scale—for instance, as we find Boëthius proposing a similar notation by the Roman letters, A to P, for the simple scale, at a time when the modes were much diminished and forgotten, and their Enharmonic and Chromatic forms completely lost to music—it would have been a manageable and an easy system. But in the multitude of notes which demanded expression in Greek Music, such a system became very intricate, and perhaps was confined more to theory than to practice, though, in the form we give it, it certainly endured to the reign of Adrian, that is to say, till the decline and almost the extinction of Greek Music. But before the time of Adrian, a new system of notation had begun.


For in the schools of Alexandria, the critics and grammarians, who undertook the editing of the ancient poets and writers of Greece, in endeavouring to preserve the beautiful tones of the Greek language from perishing, had set marks over the words, as they were spoken in the pronunciation of the time. And it was Aristophanes, the grammarian, as we remember, who invented the sign /, that is, an up stroke, to show when the voice should ascend, and the sign \, or a down stroke, to show when it should descend, or remain at its original level. And being faced with a new material to deal with, for it was no longer musical notes, which may be registered by definite symbols, but the fluctuating rise and fall of speech, which defies an accurate chronicling, they were



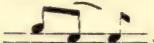
forced to invent an original method of expression, and in setting an up stroke / for a rise and a down stroke \ for a fall, they were in reality *painting* the sound, much as we found the Indians endeavouring to paint it at the beginning of this chapter. And starting like them from nature, they had curiously made a most similar copy, for while the Indians

painted the ascent of the voice as , the Alexandrian critics made it /; and while the Indians had their straight line  for sustaining the voice at the same level, the Alexandrians had their down line \ for a descent of the voice, of which the principle is exactly the same.

Now then we have heard how Aristophanes combined the up stroke / with the down stroke \ into a new form , or, as it was more commonly written by one sweep of the pen,  $\Omega$ , which meant both up and down: and how, in this way, while  $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ , which has the strokes separate from one

another, would be intoned as , such a word  
 $\tau\omicron - \pi\omicron\varsigma$

as  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}$ , where they are combined in the compound form,

would become . And also on the last  
 $\tau\alpha\upsilon - \tau\alpha$

syllable here, the continuance of the voice at the same pitch, which might well have been expressed by a straight line —, is expressed, as it always was, still by the down stroke \, to avoid no doubt an unnecessary multiplication of signs.

With these signs, therefore, equipped, the Greek language went out into the world. And it had a most admirable notation to express that vague play






of the voice in speaking, which no musical characters could ever have conveyed—they had been too definite. And in this way it was written and read for centuries after, during which time Christianity had arisen. And the Christians, whose singing was so much like speaking, found these signs of Greek pronunciation served them well to note whatever of their simple songs they wished to note. And the period indeed is plunged in darkness, but it was doubtless at Alexandria that the practice began, and it may be the beginning of it was due to Athanasius himself, for we know what pains he took with the singing of his people, and how he would rather have them speak than sing;<sup>1</sup> and perhaps he may have declared against the Greek musical alphabets, and preferred this simple style instead, or it may have suited that stern form of singing which he laboured to promote. And St. Basil, who was his great follower, may have received it from there, as he received the Liturgy of St. Mark from Alexandria, and caused it to be used at Cæsarea. And so it may have spread to Armenia, for the intercourse between Armenia and Cæsarea was very close indeed, the Armenian church being an offshoot from that of Cæsarea, and holding Cæsarea as the metropolis of its faith.

These things we say, endeavouring to trace through men and facts the paths which the darkness of history conceals from our eyes, although it lets us know that paths are there. For the historian, who would rebuild the infancy of Christian Art, or even of Christian Life,—his eyes must ever turn to Armenia, which was

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



<sup>1</sup> Augustine. Confess. X. cf. also Bingham's remarks on St. Athanasius' singing, "the song was only with a little gentle inflexion and agreeable turn of the voice, not much different from reading."


evangelised by Gregory the Illuminator shortly before the time we speak of, and being from its position much secluded from the great world around, has retained many of the most ancient forms of Christian life, which have perished elsewhere, and also of Christian Art. And the Armenian music, and in the form we now have it, is traditionally referred by the Armenians themselves to the institution of Mesropes, who was a contemporary of St. Basil, if indeed he did not come from Cæsarea: whose work it seems was that of an arranger, and the stream, we may take it, began to flow from the time of Gregory the Illuminator onwards, who was a contemporary of St. Athanasius, though somewhat older than Basil.




Now the Armenians have many musical signs, and some we may take to be primitive and others to be later, but most, it is probable, are of the age we speak of. And when they mark a rise of the voice in their songs or psalms, they put an upstroke / over the word,<sup>1</sup> and when a fall of the voice, a downstroke \; and when they would have a rise and fall of the voice on the same syllable, they put a sign , which is not dissimilar to Aristophanes' , only wanting a part, and it is plain it is the same. For exact similarity we must not expect, which indeed it would be impossible to have. For as the Armenians have these Alexandrian signs in their music, so also they have 'Breathings' too,<sup>2</sup> which are sung as appoggiaturas; but how different to all appearance are the Greek hard breathing  and the Armenian breathing , and the Greek soft breathing  and the Armenian soft

<sup>1</sup> Villoteau. Description de l'Egypte. XIV. 332. sq.

<sup>2</sup> Villoteau. XIV. 330.

breathing , though in reality the same. For the Armenian signs do but invert the thick part of the comma, putting it at the bottom instead of at the top, as we may easily see by inverting the comma ourselves and comparing them,  the Rough,  the Soft, and to the Rough a stroke is added underneath. But these are but graces of their song, and they have other signs which are based on the three principal ones. For when the voice is to be raised forcibly and suddenly, they write the upstroke thick towards the top  and with a slight curve in it, caused evidently by the natural motion of the pen in such cases. And when the voice is to sink suddenly and forcibly, they make a similar figure downwards . Now they have something which the Alexandrians had not; for they use a short straight stroke to indicate a note —, and if they would show that the next note must be above it, they set another stroke above, as = . These, it appears, and their other signs that we shall mention, are perfectly legitimate developments of the simple principle which is at the bottom of all, that is, the upstroke and the downstroke. Nor is there any reason to doubt that they are primitive, for it is plain that however near the Christian singing approached to speaking, there is yet a great gap between the two; and while three Greek signs were quite sufficient to satisfy the inflections of speech, others would be immediately required directly song was the subject instead. So we may expect, even at the earliest times, additions to the little stock, but all formed on the same principle. For as we found just now, that the Armenians used a thicker up stroke than ordinary, to indicate a sudden and forcible ascent of the voice, so we may imagine that, to indicate a smooth or

slurred ascent, they would make use of a curved line, even as the Indians do, who make use of a curve to indicate a slur. And this we accordingly find, but not exactly in the form we should expect it, but as  which indicates the ascent of a 4th. And in a similar way, there is a parallel figure for a descent, also curved, but as we might expect in the opposite

direction , to which a line is added, as we see, and this indicates a descent of a note and a half. But if a trill or shake is to be pictured, what so natural as to represent it by a zigzag line, as  or ? And both these forms are found in Armenian music, to represent a shake. And an ordinary tone or note, which we have before mentioned as, when standing in relation to another, being marked — and one set above the other as = &c., when it stands by itself is represented by a dash downwards, thus ↓ And these are the principal signs in Armenian music, for the rest are chiefly graces. And we have selected those which seemed most primitive.<sup>1</sup>

And when we say primitive, we speak of the earliest Christian times, that is, of the century or two which followed Basil and Athanasius. For let us take it that this rude notation, proceeding evidently as it does from the Greek accents, for notes or names of notes they have none, came indeed from Alexandria to Cæsarea, and from thence was diffused to Armenia in a more or less developed state, where it has lain embalmed in its seclusion since, and is to-day not much different from the ancient form in which it came there. And then, even in Basil's time, the influence of Cæsarea was extended to Constantinople, and the

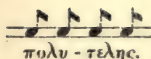
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<sup>1</sup> For the above, cf. Villoteau. loc. cit.



liturgy of Basil began to be used there. And afterwards the Patriarch of Constantinople got the jurisdiction which once belonged to Cæsarea, and Cæsarea, like other dioceses of less note, was swallowed up in Constantinople. And here then is the centre of the subject now, and at Constantinople the best results of Christian Art and Christian work of every kind would be received, and have every scope for development. And this would be about the time that Gregory came as papal legate from Italy to Constantinople, and remaining there for four years, and becoming acquainted with the musical science there, he afterwards returned to Italy, and collected and wrote his Antiphony. But the characters in which he wrote his Antiphony are almost identical with those Armenian characters which we have just been describing; with many others added, indeed, for the introduction of which we must allow the two centuries that had elapsed since the death of Basil, before which event the primitive characters had already penetrated into Armenia, to remain untouched in that great storehouse of early Christianity.

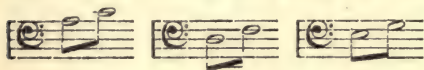
So that in the Armenian characters we have the primitive signs of Christian notation, and in the Gregorian Song we have a developed form of them; yet still, as we say, with the old remaining, and forming the basis of the system. Now in the Armenian notation we have the three Greek accent marks, / for up, \ for down, and O for up and down. And in the Gregorian Antiphony we have / for up, and O for up and down; but the mark \ is generally employed in the other Greek use, according to which it expressed the continuance of the voice at the same level, as in *πὸ λὺτὲ λῆς*



And since in this sense it is merely

equivalent to the simple note, it is generally confounded with the Armenian sign for a note, in both its forms, — and | , and as a rule written thus. And also

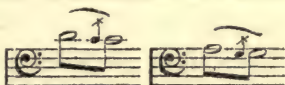
we have the Armenian sign for an ascent of the voice from a low note to a high, the curved line C , which appears in the Gregorian Antiphonary in precisely the same form C , and perhaps from its use there we may discover the meaning of this curving of the line, for it is used for a slurred interval, and denotes two sounds tied and ascending, as



, yet with the interval filled up by a *Portamento*; as we should

write it  &c.<sup>1</sup> And also

that other curved Armenian sign J , which denoted a descent of a note and a half, also appears in the Gregorian music; but in this form J , that is, with the curve bent more. And this denotes a slurred

interval downwards, as 

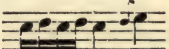
being the converse of the former sign.<sup>2</sup> And lastly the

<sup>1</sup> In the Guidonian MSS. this sign is translated by two simple notes tied and ascending. The introduction of the *Portamento* is the happy suggestion of Père Lambillotte.


<sup>2</sup> In the Guidonian MSS. this sign like the former is rendered by plain notes. The *Portamento* is again due to the demonstrations of Père Lambillotte, who has made a happy application of the words of Guido, "liquescent vero in multis voces more literarum, ita ut inceptus modus unius ad alterum limpide transiens, nec finiri videatur."



Armenian sign for a shake  $\omega$  appears as  $\omega$  or  $\omega$ , and with the same meaning. And these are the Armenian signs we find in Gregory.



But having now shown the similarity or identity, we must now go on to display the variety. For if in the Armenian signs we have the primitive Christian notation of the time, and perhaps even of the liturgy of St. Basil, we must imagine many developments and additions in the two centuries that intervened between then and the time when Gregory wrote. And development proceeds as a rule by composition. And first, the variety has arisen from these old signs being compounded into new ones. As let us take this last sign that we wrote, the Shake, and we shall find that the Gregorian is really a compound sign, and not the simple Armenian form. For it is compounded of the Armenian shake  $\omega$  and the upstroke  $/$ , as we may see by examining it,  $\omega$ , and testifies to its composition by the notes that are assigned it in Gregorian Song, for this is the translation of the sign

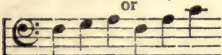
into music , and the high note here is


evidently the up stroke, which is compounded with the original shake as we have shown. But the composition of the other signs exhibits a more remarkable variety. And on the analogy of that first compound  $\Omega$ , which was originally written  $\wedge$ , and compounded of the up stroke and the down stroke, and so used even by

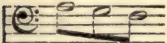
the Alexandrian Greeks—and this sign meant 

as we have said,  for the up stroke and  for the down—so now another compound had been formed


which was just the reverse of this, and was to indicate not  but , and consequently the down sign was put first and the up stroke second, and the sign appeared as  $\nabla$  or  $\checkmark$ . This is the second compound sign that we find. And the next is the following: For the point now was to invent a sign for three ascending notes; and the combination of ascending and descending was easy and lucid, but this was difficult. For three up strokes one after another would be out of the question, for they would only end in being one long stroke. So the device was hit on of writing an up stroke  $/$  and then a note of continuation  $-$ ,  $\swarrow$ , and then another up stroke  $\swarrow$ , and so a manageable sign was made, in which, though the note of continuation was for the moment forced out of its meaning, three ascending notes were very fairly expressed. And this sign did duty for

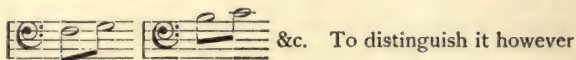
or , which we had better write for


the future in minims . Now to represent the converse of this, that is, three descending notes, what so natural as to write the same sign the other way round, that is,  $\swarrow$ , which stood therefore for

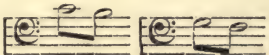
. This saved the search for a new

sign, although it was to a certain extent a dangerous expedient, because it violated the principles of the notation for the convenience of the moment, which, however, its excessive aptitude may excuse. The truth

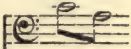
is kept to, however, better in the following sign, which is the same as the first of these two, but has a different meaning:  ; for the note of continuation is now used merely as a coupler of the two up strokes, and the sign stands for two notes ascending,

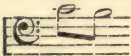


from the first sign, the lower upstroke is made thicker than ordinary, as we have represented it  . And in the following sign, which is the inverse of this, that is,

two notes descending  , the

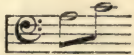
composition is effected by joining the upstroke with the downstroke, as we have before found it in the most primitive compound sign  $\cap$  or  $\wedge$  ; but since this one differs from that in marking a smaller interval


of descent, not  , that is to say, but only

 , to express this, the downstroke is

shortened by half, and the sign becomes  $\wedge$  or  $\nearrow$

Now then these compound signs themselves begin to be compounded into new ones, and thus a new set of signs are formed, which we may call double compounds. For take this last sign that we have written  $\nearrow$  ; and this is compounded with the compound sign of ascent  $\checkmark$  , which we noticed as the

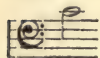
inverse of  $\cap$  and stood for  , and a new

sign is made  which therefore expresses





And in the same way, when the object was to descend a third instead of a second from



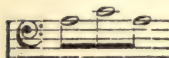
to



, instead of to



✓ could be compounded with the original *o*, and *o* or as it was more usually written *u*, would express

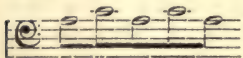


And to this again a simple upstroke could be added, *u*, and then the sign would express

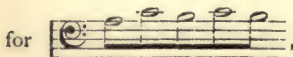


—so that now we have come to

triple compounds. And the original sign could be written twice over, and yet form one sign, but a quadruple sign, as *uu*, which then would stand for

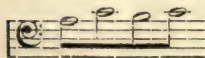


or, as it more usually stood,



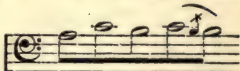
for *uu*, for there was much

freedom in the dimensions of the intervals especially in the compound signs, and though *o* in its simple form represented a larger interval than *u*, yet in composition it was often used the same. And the signs got to be associated with common runs of melody instead of with definite intervals, and so precision of extent was often lost to them—and this we must be prepared for. And the compound sign *uu*



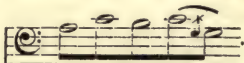
was combined with that curved

sign for a slurred interval, which we met at the beginning  $\eta$ , and became  $\gamma$ ; but though this should have stood strictly for



yet a longer descent is employed for the last sign,

and the notes become

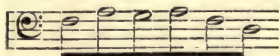


the sign  $\checkmark$  (and in this the intervals are more strictly kept) was compounded with itself  $\checkmark\checkmark$ , and in this form represented precisely a double  $\checkmark$ , standing

for

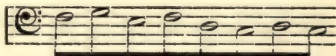


And to this the downward sign  $\cap$  was sometimes added,  $\checkmark\cap$ , or, as it was commonly written  $\gamma$ , and then the notes ran





And sometimes the down sign  $\cap$  was added twice, making the sign  $\gamma$ , and

then the notes become

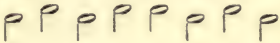


So that the actual intervals of the signs may vary, but their directions and main principles vary never. And throughout all, we may see the voice rising at the up stroke and sinking at the down stroke, precisely as we found it at the threshold of the system. So that wherever we find an Upstroke, we may say that there a high note is meant, and wherever a Downstroke, a low one; as take this last compound sign that we gave  $\gamma$ , and it is plain that reducing it from its curves to strokes, there are four strokes of

either kind in it, for it is composed of two ✓ and two  $\cap$ , and the stroke at , which we mark with a cross, is in reality a double upstroke, being the last stroke of the second ✓ and the first of the first  $\cap$  combined. And resolving this sign then into actual

strokes, it becomes , which therefore, with a low

note for a down one and a high note for an up one,

is easily seen to be 

and that these notes should take the particular positions which we have already given them, is owing, as we have said, to them being associated and probably having come into use to express that particular run of melody, which is an oft recurring one. And these eight notes would all be sung to one syllable, which is the case with all the double signs, and evidently the original intention of their construction, just as it was with the simple circumflex sign  $\cap$  of the Alexandrian Greeks. But when only one note was sung to the syllable, then the simple signs were used. And also when any runs of notes even on the same syllable were to be expressed, which were not expressible by double signs, for the double signs were limited, and there were many motions of the voice which would not tally with them. For these, then, the simple signs were used; and we have seen how height was expressed in them by /, and the simple note by — or |, just as it was in the Armenian notation. But these simple notes could be made to express degrees of height by themselves, without necessarily employing in all cases the /, or up stroke; and this was done by the simple



seen we have set no key-note, because they never give one. And the signs may be used at any height and any depth, and often with great varieties of interval. And indeed they have all the vagueness of accents, and, like the Christian music which they express, are rather vague movements of sound, than the marks of any definite determinate melody.

Yet must we not think that in these signs, as we have written them here, we see the sum and limit of the Gregorian notation. On the contrary we see but its outlines, and the details, though tedious, we yet must study. For many were the hands through which these characters had passed before they came even to his knowledge, and various were the forms which the taste or caprice of penmen had set upon them; so that did we not know the ground principles of their structure, we might well admire how so many different shapes could all be but varieties of the same thing. For first, to take the simple compound sign  $\cap$ , which we met with among the Greeks as  $\wedge$ , and afterwards as  $\cap$  in the form we give it, this appears in Gregory's Manuscript in the following different forms:—  $\int \int$

$\int \int \int \int \int \int$

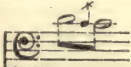
And to these latter turns a downstroke is often added on the top, as if to indicate their meaning better, and it is, like them, curved  $\int \int$  or even  $\int$ . And then the triangular form is written square towards the top  $\int$ , which passes into  $\int$ , and so on to  $\int \int \int$ , and eventually to  $\int$ . Yet all these, as we may

easily see, are but varieties of the original  $\wedge$  and  $\cap$ . And in the same way with the upward compound sign  $\vee$ . It is seldom if ever written in this exact



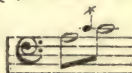


new form to a downward writing of the stroke, and the 13th and last one is also written downwards, a twist of the pen taking the place of a dash. Now the sign of the simple note, — or  $\mid$ , is written very carelessly. And first it is often expressed by a mere dot ., and these dots are set above one another, as we said the strokes — were, to express a rise or fall of the melody, as . . . . . &c. But the strokes themselves are written —  $\diagdown$  / , in fact in any direction, and we only know they are not meant for upstrokes or downstrokes, instead of for the simple note of continuance, by their smallness. But sometimes, in keeping with their derivation from the original downstroke or grave accent, they serve for actual downstrokes in any of their forms, and indicate a descent of the melody, as we shall afterwards show. And this form  $\mid$  is often written  $\P$ , that is, with a dot at its top, and in this form may readily be confused with the dotted upstroke; and sometimes  $\P$  with a circle at its top, and in this form may readily be confused with the twisted upstroke  $\P$ ; and these confusions are hard to tell. For both these circular forms are almost impossible to distinguish from the descending appoggiatura

interval   $\P$  in its various forms of

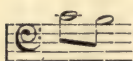
$\P \P \P \P \P$ , and but that the two with the circle on the right are straighter in their tail than the twisted upstroke  $\P$ , and the others with it on the left are taller than that little  $\P$ , there would indeed be no telling. And the sign  $\P$ , which is

the ascending appoggiatura interval



was variously written *l l C J u u*, and sometimes by a similar flourish of the pen which we mentioned in the case of the compound upstroke.

*J*, is transformed into *J*, differing by a hairsbreadth from that very form, for while the flourish is here on both sides of the top, in the compound upstroke it was on the right side only *J*. And the sign, *f*, which is the descending interval of a tone



was variously written *f f f f f* and

even *β*, and the sign for the shake *w w w w w* and *w* or *w*; in the two latter of which there is obviously a composition with the compound down sign *∩*, and all these are more or less easily deducible from the primitive form. But in the various form of the sign */*, which was *7*, there seems a great divergence, nor can we explain the reason of the form, but simply state that the two are the same. Now in the rest of the signs, and particularly with the long compounds, the signs of Gregory are the same as we have before written them. For in composition the rudimental forms of the strokes are much better preserved than in the simple signs, which have suffered so much as we see from the caprice of copyists, and perhaps this strictness was necessary to prevent confusion, for the simpler signs were easy to be recognised however they were written, but in long compounds any departures from the rudimentary form would have made the sign unintelligible.

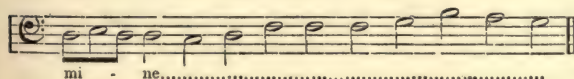
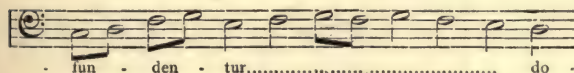
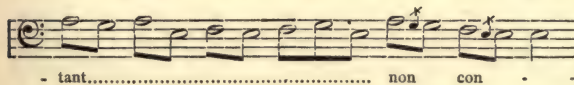
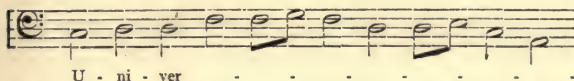
And now, by the help of what we know, we may write that piece of music which we gave a page or two back, with the same variety of notation which we

find in Gregory's Manuscript, and so writing it, it will become, — — / ✓ ρ 5 7 — 4 w 7 1 J

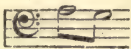
~ ~ 9: ~ ~ / / 5 > ρ — /.


Or taking an extract from Gregory's Antiphony, we can easily translate it into modern music; and here we shall see the characters in their true aspect, that is, set above words, to which, like a series of complicated accents, they give the inflections of the tone:—

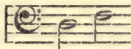
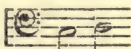
*V*ener si qui te expectant  
 si pe se se si;  
 non confundentur domine.  
 which we may thus translate:—



<sup>1</sup> Gradual for 1st Sunday in Advent. Antiphonaire de St. Gregoire: St. Gall MS.

In which we may remark the loose dealing with the intervals, and how the sign  $\nearrow \cap$  is used in two consecutive passages, first for , and then

for , and similarly = in the same

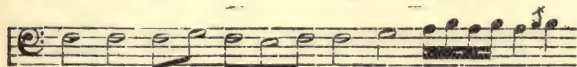
manner, at first for , that is, the interval of a 3rd, but afterwards at *domine* for the interval of a 2nd . And how we know that

these are the actual intervals in their respective places is because the translation we have given is agreeable to the traditional rendering in later MSS. And also the sign  $\nearrow \rfloor$  or  $\nearrow$  is sometimes used for a repeated note instead of a higher one. And this is a use of it which afterwards became common, as we shall subsequently show, and even in Gregory we may well see the beginning of it. And also the sign for a simple note — or |, agreeably to its derivation from the grave accent or downstroke  $\searrow$ , is sometimes used for a lower note instead of a repeated one, as at *dom* in "*domine*," and at the last note of the piece. And it will be seen that the actual height of the writing is by no means a guide to the height of the notes, for in the first word,  $\searrow$  is written at the same height as the  $\searrow$  which precedes it, and yet it denotes a lower pitch. Yet sometimes this is so, as in the passage at the end, and always it is so in the arrangement of the dots.

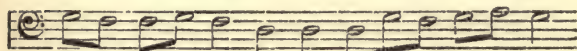


And let us take another extract

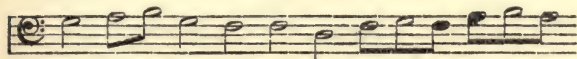
*Bonum est confidere in domino  
quam confidere in homine*



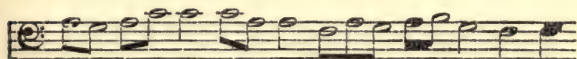
Bon - um est..... con - fi -



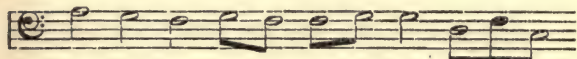
- de - re..... in do - - mi -



- no , ..... quam.....



con - fi - de - re.....



in..... ho - mi ne.....




And in this we shall find the same things hold good, and being a longer piece we shall notice not only the freedom with which the signs are used, but also the apparent wantonness in the shaping of them. For casting our eye over this and the preceding

<sup>1</sup> Gradual for Fourth Sunday in Lent. Antiphonaire de St. Grégoire. St. Gall MS.

picce, we find that the up sign ✓ for instance, of which we have given so many varieties, is written in fresh variety still, that is, with a turn at the top, as at "*fudentur*" in the first picce ♪, and with a larger turn ♪, as at "*Bonum*" in the second.

And the compound sign ♪ for 

or , which we gave originally as ♪,

is written as ♪, with a stroke at the end and also quite square ♪, as at "*domino.*" And other similar things we might mention. In fact, there seems no limit to the variations which these signs receive, and, when we have grasped the fundamental principles of their shape, no limit to our understanding them.

But suppose we look at them in different surroundings altogether, and written by a different people, who have elaborated them in a way peculiar to themselves, and also have had many extra centuries to bestow on their development. Then we may be prepared for differences indeed, to which the variations that we have just been considering will appear trivial and paltry. For the Greeks of Constantinople, though we may well suppose that at the time of Gregory himself, since he derived his musical knowledge all from thence, they wrote their music in very similar and perhaps the identical characters which Gregory employs and which we have just described, yet we have no means of learning the truth of this supposition, or indeed of estimating the Byzantine notation at all, till late in the 13th century, when one or two MSS. begin to appear in

Europe,<sup>1</sup> and it is not till the 17th century that a treatise on the subject comes to hand,<sup>2</sup> together with other MSS. of a more developed form<sup>3</sup>—by which time, as will be readily allowed, many changes must have taken place since the comparatively primitive times of which we are now speaking. And we may well conceive in what direction those changes have been. For looking at the character of the Byzantine Greeks themselves, and their nattiness and love of learned trifling, we may well imagine that their music has amassed a crowd of intricacies, both in its system and in its expression. And such a character as this leads to caligraphy in penmanship; and that this was the case with the Byzantines we may well judge, when we find an emperor, the Emperor Alexius II., boasting of being the best writer in his empire.<sup>4</sup> So that what changes we find in musical notation, we may expect to lie in the direction of florid ornament and meretricious decoration, with which things accordingly we find the Byzantine music so overloaded, that at first sight all resemblance between it and the primitive notation of Gregory seems entirely lost.

And the Byzantine Music like that of Gregory is more a system of elaborate accentuation than the precise register of sound, which we understand by notation. The signs are set above the words in the same way, and have no more than a relative value,











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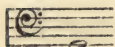
<sup>1</sup> In the Colbertine Codex, however, of the 11th century, there are some Byzantine musical characters, which form a puzzle even to Montfaucon.

<sup>2</sup> It was among the plunder captured from the Turks at the siege of Vienna.

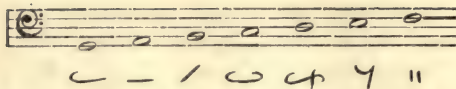
<sup>3</sup> The same book contained MSS. of Greek Hymns, &c.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. of this prince, written in the form of a cross, in purple ink powdered with gold, have been discovered in the monasteries of Mount Athos.

for they may occur at any pitch; but then they are more accurate than Gregory's signs in their designation of the intervals. And they are divided into Spirits and Bodies. And first, in these names themselves we may see the common origin of the two notations. For the Gregorian signs were one and all known by the name of Spirits (*Pneumata. Neumes*), but the Byzantines have two classes, Spirits and Bodies, as we have said. And the Bodies were those signs that denoted no more than intervals of a tone and a semitone. But the Spirits were those that denoted a larger interval, as a 3rd, a 5th, &c. And the Bodies are eight in number, six ascending, and two descending, together with the note of continuance, which is also reckoned a Body, nine in all. But now let us look how this note of continuance is written, which in Gregory we found denoted by the simple stroke —. But Byzantine penmanship appends a hook at the beginning, and it becomes . And this is set at any pitch at the beginning of the music, and serves as the starting note of the melody; and in the course of the music it denotes that a note is to be repeated. And the other Bodies, that is, the ascending ones, denote degrees of ascent by tones or semitones above. Thus — denotes a tone above . / a tone above —.  a semitone above /  a tone above .  a tone above . And  a semitone above . Or, assuming for the moment that  is pitched at

, they will run:—<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fetis has erred almost wilfully in identifying the signs with absolute notes. He calls one C, another D, and so on, instead of treating them as purely relative and independent of pitch.



Now to see the similarity between these signs and Gregory's, we need only conceive that these are indeed Gregory's lying on their sides, and setting them up straighter we shall easily read them — as — , / as / , C as C , 4 as 4 , that is — the simple upstroke, denoting the ascent of a tone, / a more pronounced upstroke, denoting the ascent of two tones, C as the compound upstroke of Gregory, ✓ or ✓ , (figured here with a curve at the top), denoting in reality an ascent from a low note to a high, but used here merely as an emphasised form of the ordinary upstroke / , 4 as the various form of the same, 4 as we find it even in Gregory, and here used as a device to indicate a further ascent still. But Y (no longer bent down) is the variety of the simple upstroke, which Gregory also uses, and denotes a note higher than 4 ; and

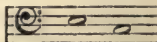
|| is an upstroke doubled, to signify a note higher still. Thus, various and quite legitimate devices have been used to press the simple signs of ascent / ✓ into a dainty precision of meaning. And in the Down Signs, or Descending Bodies, we shall see that the signs of descent are similarly employed. For there are two down signs, or Descending Bodies, v , which denotes the descent of a tone from any pitch, and vv , which denotes the descent of two tones. And v is plainly the simple downstroke \ , and vv is the downstroke doubled



W, to increase the descent, just as the upstroke was doubled in II, to increase the ascent.

And passing from the Bodies to the Spirits, we shall see similar resemblances. For there is a Spirit called the *Elaphron*, which is the interval of a third


descending, as we might write it



And this is written  $\curvearrowright$ , which is plainly no other than the simple compound sign of descent  $\Omega$ , and expresses the same interval. And there is a Spirit, the *Aporrhoe*, which denotes a descending interval taken with an appoggiatura or the Portamento; and written as it is  $\mathfrak{f}$ , it is plainly identical with  $\mathfrak{F}$ , which is a various form of  $\rho$ , which we find also in Gregory, that indicates a descending interval taken in the same manner. The only difference is in the compass of the two, for while the Byzantine  $\mathfrak{f}$  is the interval of a 3rd,  $\mathfrak{F}$  or  $\rho$  is the interval of a 2nd, as we have mentioned before. And the next Spirit is the *Hypsile*  $\mathcal{L}$ , which denotes the ascent of a 5th, and this is merely a variety of the compound up sign


✓, as we may see. And the *Kentema*  $\mathbf{1}$ , an ascent of a tone and a semitone, we may well refer to  $\mathbf{L}$ , the sign of a similar ascent in the Gregorian notation, though with an appoggiatura which the *Kentema* has not. And first in the *Kamile*  $\mathbf{4}$


(a descent of a 5th), which is the last of the Spirits, we are left to seek to what affinity in the Gregorian notation we should refer it, whether we should take it as a variety of  $\mathcal{L}$ , a form of the compound down sign, which means the same thing, or rather

as , which we mentioned as a downward movement, but not an interval. But since either seems somewhat forced, we shall prefer to leave it unpaired.



Indeed, the wonder is, not that there should be a difficulty in finding a resemblance, but there should be any resemblances at all to find. After so long a lapse of years, some eight or nine centuries, we are first shown this Byzantine notation, with nothing to enlighten us about its course in the meantime; and with such a people, so bent on the finenesses and details of things, so gifted too with that minute ingenuity which makes a skilful penman, we might well imagine that much greater changes had taken place than those comparatively slight ones, which we have just considered, in the fundamental parts of their notation. And certainly in other respects the music has gained much in laboured intricacy. And in other parts of their notation, where the fancy is not fettered by pre-existing forms, but left free to move as it pleases, the notation passes from notation to being such a strange register of sound as we may scarcely conceive. For here, as nowhere else, that peculiar phenomenon of "Sound-painting" meets us; and perhaps some of the alterations of the primitive forms that we have just now been considering, may be due to some such an influence, though we cannot now hope to trace it. And this Sound-Painting is practised with a minuteness that will surprise us, in keeping with the intricacy of the music itself, which intricacy lay mainly in the abundance of graces and *fiorituras* with which the notes were studded, which we have alluded to already, but now more so. For over and above the Spirits and Bodies, fifteen in

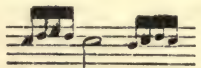
number, which we have just been describing, some thirty or forty *Hypostases* or Substances meet us. And they are called the Substances of the Music, being really the graces and roulades. And some are symbolised indeed by signs, and not attempted to be painted, as indeed some of the notes themselves in their new forms may well be supposed to be: but others, and the majority, are painted, and a few of these we shall now give. And first there is the *Enarxis*, a grace which consists of two rapid notes

above and below a principal one, thus 


and the sign for it is plainly an attempt to paint this zigzag motion of the voice by a similar motion of the pen, for this is the sign . And the contrary grace to this, the *Homalon*, or "Smooth Grace," which is a gentle undulation between two

principal notes,  which might have


been well expressed by a waved line , is yet expressed, and perhaps more truly, by a long straight line , being in this way the exact opposite of the *Enarxis*, and contrasting with all the other graces, none of which are so smooth as the *Homalon*. And how admirably is the following a painting of the sound, which is the *Antikeno-*

*kylisma*  and does not the sign

<sup>1</sup> The musical renderings of these *Hypostases* have been taken in the main from Villoteau, in some cases from Fetis, who translated them into modern notation agreeably to the indications of—

exactly paint it , sweeping up and down in its two parts, just like the movement of the voice! And the following also, the *Paracletice*, which stands for



, and expresses it by a zigzag figure of two lines and a cross one . Or what could better paint the simple appoggiatura than a dash of the pen much like our apostrophe ,?


But more than the painting of the pen on paper, in the creation of these signs, there would be another cause at work, which would tend to represent them with still greater exactitude. For we hear much of the *Chironomia*, or movement of the hands, in Byzantine music, that is, the movement of the conductor's hand, who, as he beat, and conducted his choir, would often endeavour to trace in the air those intricate movements of the voice, with which the music was studded, which would help the singers greatly, or perhaps he would unconsciously do so in his efforts to carry them along. And then, in

representing such a grace as this




which occurs between two principal notes of the chant,



as , his hands would naturally make

some such movement as , or to couple it with


music , which afterwards appears as the sign

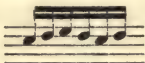



for this grace. And then at the *Antikenoma*, or filling up of an interval by a kind of *portamento*, and it is an upward *portamento*, his hand would sweep

upwards, which thus became the musical sign for the grace notes in the following,



And with such a motion as this , the hand would trace in the air these notes




which form the grace *Psifiston*, and are written in the notation as . But others are not so simple, and yet we may well follow the motion of the hand. For let us take this grace, the *Stauros*,



, and we will mark it off with slurs

to show our meaning better,

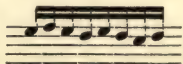


And a nimble hand, endeavouring to write exactitude on the singing, might well be conceived to make an upward sign at the first two semiquavers, a downward one at the second two, then a cross to the left at the next two, and a cross to the right at the remaining two, thus , or writing it loosely



And whether this be the true explanation or not, we have + in the Byzantine notation as the sign for those notes, which in our characters


we express as




In a similar way three downward beats seem to have denoted









thus, , or, as they are written in the


notation, in one figure , and perhaps this



grace, which is the *Epizema*, was sung 



that is, with the *portamento*, and then this will explain why the three intervals are so carefully beaten to, and also why the hand sweeps so. But in the following we have an exact picture of the motion of



the sound, . Now a common



indication of a double appoggiatura,  or , seems to have been a turn of the hand, or of the finger, thus, , and this we find in many signs, in ,


which equals , or, as I should prefer to


write it, , where  is for the double


appoggiatura , and  for the descent; in








, where the two 's are

for  and  respectively, and the remainder

of the sign for the next note  and the descent

to E; and finally in a strange sign , which

we are told stands for , though the actual meaning is not so easy to trace.

To such an intricacy and such a freedom, and to even greater intricacy than this, for these signs are many of them compounded, as  and  into  and  and  into  &c., and the system becomes all the more intricate in consequence—to this, then, we have traced that method of notation, which, unlike others that preceded it, sought to express musical notes by actual drawings of their sound, instead of by the clumsy device of alphabetical symbols, as the classical Greeks for instance made use of. And we have seen this system start from the simple up and down stroke , which is so natural a picture of the sound, that even savage man expresses it in the same way, and proceed step by step by composition and other means in its development; till it has reached the florid and elaborate form, which we have just now described; through all of which indeed the primitive basis of the upstroke and the down is clearly discernible as the foundation of the structure, though to look at the ornate Byzantine signs, with the crowd of graces with which they are studded, who would find them explicable, or discover any resemblance at all to the elementary system from which they are derived, or even to the Gregorian system with which in their main features they are actually identical? For let us here write a piece of Byzantine music in the notation we have been describing, and it will be seen that the notes, that is, the Bodies and Spirits, are written in black ink, and

the Graces or Hypostases in red, which is always the way in Byzantine Music :—

Δεῦ-τε - τε λα-οὶ ὑμ-νή - σω - σω - μεν

καὶ προσ-κυ - νή - σω - μεν χρίστον, δοξ - ᾶ - ζον - τες

αὐ - τοῦ - τοῦ τὴν ἐκ νέκ- ρων ἀν - αν - ᾶσ

τα - τα - σιν ὅ - τι ἄν - εσ - τιν ὁ

θε - θε - θε - ὅς ἡ - ἡ - ἡ - ἡ -

μῶν ὁ ἐκ ἐκ ἐκ τῆς πλά - νης τοῦ ἐχθροῦ

τὸν κόσ - μον - μον λυ - λυ - τρω - σά - με - νος - νος.

which, according to the explanations already given, we may thus translate :—

Δεῦ - τε..... λά..... οἱ ὑμ - νή.....

σω - μεν... καὶ προσ-κυ - νή - σω - μεν χρίσ-τον,

δοξ - ᾶζ - ον - τες αὐ - του..... τὴν ἐκ

νέκ- ρων ἀν - ᾶσ τα - σιν.....

ὅτ - ι..... ἄν - εσ - - - - τιν

ὁ..... θε - - - ὁς ἡ - - μῶν

ὁ - ἐκ τῆς πλά - νης τοῦ ἐχ - θροῦ τὸν

κόσ - μον - λυ..... τρω - σα - με - νος.....

So different, then, have the signs become in the new conditions to which they have been submitted among the Greeks of Constantinople. And even nearer home, that is, nearer Rome, where the signs were first presented as an organised system of notation in the Gregorian Antiphony, a similar variation of form was growing up, even in the lifetime of Gregory, though it was not such a marked one as the Byzantine, which we have just described. For by the end of the 6th century, the barbarian Lombards had overrun Italy to the gates of Rome, but their power was greatest in the north, where they received the civilisation of Pavia, Verona, and Milan. And when in course of time fresh manuscripts began to appear of the Gregorian Song, those which were written in Lombardy have a well marked character of their own, being much rougher and coarser in their outlines than the rest, and with these the German MSS. have much

in common. They are the barbarian edition, if we may call them so, of the Gregorian writing, and besides this, they also contain a few new signs, which it will be well to notice. And first they are very rough and coarse, being written in thick black strokes, and in such a running hand that they look more like clumsily formed letters than those signs that we have been accustomed to. Thus the sign  $\wedge$  or  $\nearrow$  appears in the Lombard notation as  $\text{fl}$   $\text{fl}$

$\text{fl}$   $\text{fl}$   $\text{fl}$  , and the sign  $\checkmark$  in the same way  $\text{fl}$   $\text{fl}$   $\text{fl}$   $\checkmark$  , and even as  $\text{fl}$  , so

careless were they in forming the signs; and their running hand put in downstrokes, as in the latter part of  $\text{fl}$  , which formed no part of the sign.

And the other form of the sign  $\wedge$  , that is,  $\text{fl}$  , which is more truly a Lombard sign, for we find it but seldom in Gregory, appears coarsely shaped as

$\text{fl}$   $\text{fl}$  , and also inverted as  $\text{fl}$   $\text{fl}$  and  $\text{fl}$  .

And these variations lead to new forms in the compounds, as the sign  $\text{fl}$  , which is compounded of  $\wedge$  and the upstroke, appears in the Lombard notation as  $\text{fl}$  , where the last part  $\text{fl}$  , however, is not a new down sign, but the Lombard form of the simple upstroke  $\nearrow$  , which is constantly written with a turn at the top, though often, too, in the old form clumsily made as  $\text{fl}$  or  $\text{fl}$  . And the sign of the shake  $\text{fl}$  is written in the Lombard notation  $\text{fl}$  or  $\text{fl}$  , and the sign  $\text{fl}$  , which we have before found written  $\text{fl}$  is now constantly



written in that latter form. And the sign *l* or *✓* is written *5*, although that properly should come under the new signs, of which we have said there were a few. For the simple note, — or *˘*, has this new sign in the Lombard notation *˘*, which is plainly, like the rest, the result of a thick sweeping pen. And similarly *p* is written by this new sign, *3* or *c*, and *∕* appears as *˘*. And in the last case, at least, the Lombard sign is nearer to the sound than the original is, for *∕* stands for a descending interval of a second, which is here well expressed by two strokes *˘*, and similarly *p* stands for the same interval with an appoggiatura, and *3* gives it well, but *c* not so well.

Now as a result of this clumsy hand, which often must have been hard to follow, the Lombards were led to a device, which was of great importance in the history of musical notation, for they were led to make marks in these ungainly signs, to show where the notes came, and which was merely the line of junction, as in *∫*, where there are two notes *∫p*, they would make marks at each end of the sign, using their sign for the note for this purpose, so that *∫* became *∫*, but this is principally in the later manuscripts.

Now we cannot do better, to show the difference between the Lombard notation and the old Gregorian, than to give a piece written in both notations side by side. And of the Lombard we will give two styles, the older and the newer Lombard; and in the former

it will be seen that some of the changes we have spoken of have not yet come about, as the simple note or . is still denoted by a stroke or a dot, and one or two other things will be noticed:—

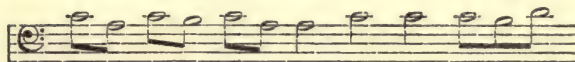
## GRADUAL FOR CHRISTMAS DAY.



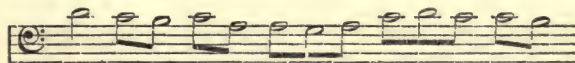
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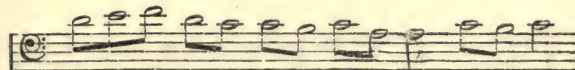
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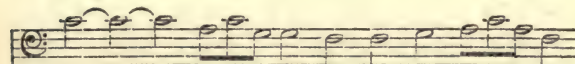
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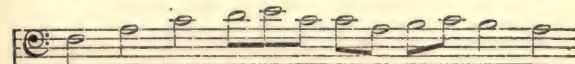
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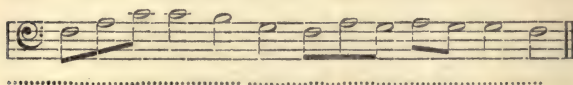
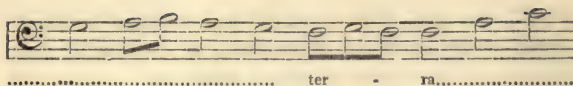
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GREGORIAN NOTATION.<sup>1</sup>

Viderunt omnes fines terrae  
salutare deo nosse iubilate  
deus omnis terra

OLD LOMBARD NOTATION.<sup>2</sup>

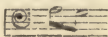
Viderunt omnes fines terre  
salutare deo nosse iubilate  
deus omnis terra

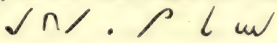





LATER LOMBARD.<sup>3</sup>

Viderunt omnes fines terre salutare  
deus omnis terra

<sup>1</sup> From the Antiphonary of St. Gregory. St. Gall MS.

<sup>2</sup> From the Antiphonary of Murbach. 9th century.

<sup>3</sup> Conformable to the Præmonstratensian MSS. of Everboden. In the concluding passage here, the group  is omitted.

And now having spent much time in the description of these signs, it will be well to give the names they went by; and to do this we will go back to the simple forms of them, as we find them in Gregory's Antiphonary, that is,  &c., passing from the Lombard notation, where the names are yet the same, though there is a variety of form. And whether these names were in use in Gregory's time or not, we cannot tell, but most probably they were, for so many of them are Greek, and therefore point to having come along with the signs themselves in those early days from Constantinople. And to one of these Greek names at least we have already called attention, that is, to the *Kylisma* (κύλισμα), or Shake, which in the corrupt Latin form is called *Quilisma*, and is the name for  . And the *Strophicus*, also a Greek name, reminds us of the Byzantine *Ecstrepton*;<sup>1</sup> and the *Strophicus* was the name of  , which was three ascending notes, as we have already said, and it also had a Latin name, *Gutturalis*, or "throat sign," because these three notes were executed by one movement of the throat. But *Strophicus*, or "the turned sign," was in allusion to the form of it,  , as we shall see most of the names were. Thus  was called the "headed sign," *Cephalicus*, (κεφαλικὸς), and it had a Latin name, *Pandula*, and another Greek name, *Tramea*, which is much the same as the Byzantine *Tramikon*, which we have mentioned in another part. And as  was

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<sup>1</sup> Still more remarkable is the reminder in *Apostrophus*, another name for the *Punctum*, and *Hemivocalis*, an obvious translation of *Hemiphonus*, another name for the *Eptaphonus*.

called the "headed" sign, ✓ was called the "footed" sign, *Podatus*, (ποδatus),<sup>1</sup> a barbarous word, half Latin and half Greek, but like *Cephalicus*, in allusion to the form of the sign. And the compound down sign  $\wedge$  was called "the Hill," *Clivis*, sometimes by barbarism, *Clinis*, or else it was called "the Quart Measure," *Cenix*, (χοῖνιξ), because it resembled a quart pot.<sup>2</sup> And . was called the *Punctum*, or "point;" and / the *Virga* or *Virgula*, that is, "the Rod." And  $\curvearrowright$  was called the *Sinuosa*, or "curling sign;"<sup>3</sup> and in this form  $\beta$  or  $\rho$ , was called the *Ancus*, which means "the Curve." In a similar way,  $\mathcal{N}$  was called "the little chain," *Torculus*;  $\nearrow$  the *Porrectus*, or "extended sign," and  $\nmid$  "the boundary," *Oriscus*.  $\mathcal{L}$  was called the *Eptaphonus*, which is probably a corruption of *Epiphonus*, which would mean the sign with the "subjoined note," alluding to the Appoggiatura, which occurs in the interval. Indeed this name *Epiphonus* is actually found, and also *Hemivocalis*, *Franculus*, *Gnomo*, which are other names for the same sign.  $\mathcal{N}$  is called the *Pentafonus*, or "five note" sign, though really there are but four notes in it, and we must therefore suppose that one note has dropped out since the name was given. But the compound signs, as a rule, are not named, unless in certain new groupings, which now begin to appear; and while those long signs,  $\mathcal{M}$

<sup>1</sup> This most common of the signs went by various names, though all, except the one given, are more or less rare. It was called the *Pes*, the *Pes quassus*, the *Pes stratus*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> It was also called the *Flexa*.

<sup>3</sup> In the Ottenburg table it is called the *Flexa sinuosa*.





piece—they were called the *Pressus Major* and *Minor*, or the “Greater” and “Less” Conclusion, we shall have exhausted the list of these new groups of signs, and also of the neumes in Gregory. For all these were called Neumes, as we have said before, taking their name from those long-sung syllables, which gave the character to all the music, that were sung in the time of a Breath (*Pneuma*); and of which they were the notes. And such a system of notation as they gave was indeed far better adapted to render the music they expressed, than any more definite musical characters would have been. And we have seen how they have grown up with the Christian music, and kept pace with its increase step by step, and in the developed form at which we have now described them they served as a perfect notation for the Antiphonary of Gregory, which contained the best results that Christian Art had at this time achieved. And where we may feel their deficiency, that is, in the absence of all signs for pitch, and the complete absence of any marks of time or rhythm, was in reality no deficiency at all, for the music was wholly destitute of rhythm, and the pitch rested merely at the pleasure of the singers. Even the looseness of the neumes in expressing intervals was probably a looseness that was not felt, for doubtless the intervals were often sung as loosely as the neumes expressed them, and such flexible signs as they, were entirely necessary to suit the requirements of the case.

Written in such characters as these, the Gregorian Song began to spread over Europe. For it has been well said, that Gregory won back by policy what Rome had lost by arms. And it was his object to give Rome a new empire, that is, not a temporal one, but a spiritual empire over the minds of men. And wherever

he sent his missionaries, there also he sent copies of the Gregorian Song, that is, as he had arranged it in his Antiphonary. And he bade them go singing among the people. And in this way St. Cyriacus went to Spain, and St. Fulgentius to Africa, and St. Virgilius to France. And St. Augustine to Britain.



## CHAPTER VI.

And St. Augustine's entry into Britain is described to us. He came bearing a silver cross, and a banner with the image of Christ painted on it, while a long train of choristers walked behind him, chanting the *Kyrie Eleison*. In this way they came to the court of Ethelbert, King of Kent, who assigned them Canterbury as an abode, while they remained in England. And they entered the gates of Canterbury with similar pomp, the silver cross borne aloft, and also the banner, and the choristers with their books and vestments, chanting psalms and the *Kyrie*. And as they passed through the gates, they sang this petition, "Lord, we beseech thee to keep thy wrath away from this city and from thy holy church, Alleluia!" And the simple people hearing their singing and the strange art with which they tuned their voices, were afraid of witchcraft and fascination, and at first would have nought to say to them. And King Ethelbert himself was not superior to such fears, and this was the reason that he had sent Augustine and his singers to Canterbury, so that they might be at a distance from the capital.

And similar stories are related of the singers who were sent into France and Spain. For at the same time with St. Augustine, there were chosen singers sent in his train, who should stop on the way in France, or turn aside into Spain, in order to teach the inhabitants of these countries the Gregorian song

likewise.<sup>1</sup> For the French and Spaniards, though not heathens as the Saxons were, had yet no knowledge of the Roman service, or of the music as Gregory had arranged it. For their Christianity had come from another quarter; and not from Rome at all, having been introduced into France, at least, about the second century of the Christian era, straight from Asia Minor. The missionaries of St. Polycarp, who was himself a disciple of St. John, had evangelised Lyons at that early period, and Christianity had spread from Lyons through the greater part of France, at a time when even Rome itself had not emerged from Paganism. In this way the French could boast a service, and indeed a style of singing of their own, which had every evidence of being more primitive than the Roman. The service for instance contained that reading of the names of martyrs from the diptychs, or tablets of wax, which was usual among the early Christians; and it also commenced with bible reading both from the Old Testament and the Epistles, which likewise was the primitive practice, and had been abolished in the Roman rite. But the singing testified still more strongly to a primitive origin. It contained not a touch of any art, being a mere drawl on one or two notes, which it seldom or never left. There was none of that variety and almost melody, which was secured by the copious inflections of the Gregorian tones;<sup>2</sup> but from beginning to end it was one monotonous recitation, with even the cadence so slightly marked, that it has since been denoted in music by the descent of one

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<sup>1</sup> John the Deacon. Vita St. Greg. II.

<sup>2</sup> Simplex magis fuit cantus Gallicus; Cantus Romanus magis variegatus. Gerbert I. 263.



note.<sup>1</sup> In this way had Christian song developed in the remote districts of France, and its development had been to gain in steadiness of intonation in the course of centuries, but in other respects it had stood still. Now the name by which the French service was known, was the Gallican Liturgy, and the Spanish service, which was not unlike it, and only differed in a few immaterial points, was called the Mosarabic or Gothic Liturgy; and this was the service and the singing which the singers of St. Gregory found in France and Spain, when he sent them in the train of St. Augustine, who was on his way to Britain. And their efforts to spread the Gregorian song met at first with but scant success.<sup>2</sup> For the people were loth to let go their ancient rites, and the influence of Gregory was not strong enough to compel them to do so.<sup>3</sup> Only in Britain was he in the meanwhile perfectly successful in his propaganda, and for this reason he loved that country next to Italy itself. In Italy he was very rigorous and exacting, and went great lengths to secure the complete establishment of his music. He would consecrate no man a bishop, who was not fully acquainted with it, and his object was that each diocese might have its special superintendent.<sup>4</sup> Yet he did not live to see his dream of peaceful conquest carried out to the letter, but only gloriously begun, and the world must wait a century and more before that dream could be achieved. For how could it take effect under the weak and inglorious popes who

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<sup>1</sup> Lebœuf. *Traité historique sur le chant ecclesiastique*. p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Fauchet. *Antiq. Gallic.* III. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Chilperic I. and Dagobert could think the Gallican song very "sweet and delightful."

<sup>4</sup> Gregory. X. *Epist.* 34.

succeeded him, and the barbarism and ignorance which after his death enveloped Europe? And most of all, the depredations of the Lombards, and the establishment of a powerful Lombard kingdom in the North and North-west of Italy, were hostile to the policy which Gregory had laid down. For with the Lombards came the music of Ambrose again, and during the century that followed Gregory's death, half Italy owned the Lombard sway. And it was about fifty years after Gregory's death that the Lombards were received into the Catholic Church, and then the danger to his policy seemed greater still, for while they were Arians, the Ambrosian music suffered from the taint and could never be formidable; but now it had effected a lodgment, despite all opposition, in the Church itself.

So did things stand when that century was over, and Charlemagne ascended the throne of the Franks. And the position he occupied, which he had inherited from his father, Pepin, was that of special protector and soldier of the Roman Church. And at this time the popes were more than ever embittered against the Lombards, owing to the injuries they had sustained from King Astolfus, in the course of the controversy in Image Worship; and at the same time, weak followers though they were of Gregory, they must have felt how much the unity of the church was menaced by the establishment of the Ambrosian service in the North and North-west of Italy itself. Of all the popes Pope Adrian I. was most emphatic in his opposition to that service, and he was the contemporary of Charlemagne during the first twenty years of his reign, and first summoned him across the Alps to defend the Church against the Lombard king. Desiderius, that king, had been most persistent in his

persecution of Adrian; had ravaged his territory, and insulted his envoys; so that we cannot wonder at the hatred which Adrian felt for everything Lombard, and, as head of the Roman church, for the Lombard church of Milan, which boasted a style of singing and a service of its own. And Charlemagne, having conquered the Lombards, proceeded to Rome to meet the pope and the cardinals, and to consider the arrangements that were to be made for the settlement of his new conquest. And the political arrangements he proposed to despatch himself, but in what touched ecclesiastical concerns he sought the decision of the conclave. And the pope called a great synod, which was attended by bishops from all parts of Europe; and the synod passed a decree commissioning "Charlemagne to proceed through the length and breadth of Italy, and to utterly uproot everything which in singing or in ritual differed from the practice of the Roman church, so that there might be unity throughout the land."<sup>1</sup> And armed with this commission, Charlemagne posted to Milan, and seizing all the chant and hymn books of the Ambrosian song, he made bonfires of them in the middle of the city.<sup>2</sup> He also carried numbers with him over the Alps into France, where they were made away with. His agents were instructed to buy up every copy that could be found, or in default of fair means to

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<sup>1</sup> "Synodus immensa, multis diversarum terrarum episcopis congregatis, in qua &c. . . edoctus itaque Carolus Imperator ut per totam linguam proficisceretur Latinam, et quidquid diversum in cantu et mysterio divino inveniret a Romano totum deleret." Landulphi Senioris Mediolanensis Historia II. cap. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Unde factum est ut veniens Imperator Mediolanum omnes libros Ambrosiano titulo sigillatos, quos vel dono vel pretio vel vi habere potuit, alios comburens alios trans montes quasi in exilio secum detulit. Ib.

take them by force.<sup>1</sup> Those of the clergy who refused to give up their books, were to be put to the sword, and many both of the higher and lower orders of clergy perished in this manner.<sup>2</sup> So thorough and wholesale was the destruction, that when St. Eugenius visited Milan shortly after these events, with the express purpose of obtaining a copy of the Ambrosian Chants, he could find only one Missal in the whole town, and this had been secreted by a priest during the persecution in a cave outside the city gates.<sup>3</sup> The same measures were taken throughout the rest of Lombardy,<sup>4</sup> and in a few weeks the flourishing empire of the Ambrosian Song was reduced to desolation, and the only fragment that escaped, was, according to tradition, this very missal which St. Eugenius found.

Perhaps it was at this period, and possibly owing to this event, that Charlemagne was led to reflect on that wonderful scheme of St. Gregory for creating a united Church by means of a common music, which he may have smiled at before as the vision of an enthusiast. He was now master of Northern Italy, and had been crowned with the iron crown of the Lombard kings; and, as the sovereign of a conquered people, he may have fancied that pacification had come sooner than it might have done, by the introduction of a Church's influence which was devoted to him. And since his interests were now inextricably bound up in those of Rome, and his whole political creed was the fabrication of unity, he was now

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<sup>1</sup> "Omnes clericos minis et suppliciis cogeant, &c." Durandus ex Vita S. Eugenii. V. 2

<sup>2</sup> "Trucidatis multis clericis minorum et majorum ordinum." Land. Sen. II. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Land. Sen. II, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.

inclined to sympathise with the aspirations of St. Gregory, and even to adopt the very means which he had devised to employ. The Gregorian Song, which was to be the magic thread that bound all Christendom together, might also serve political purposes, and entwine the discordant elements of his empire, as a gentle bond of union, which no one felt, and was therefore all the stronger because concealed. In this way Charlemagne proceeded the champion of St. Gregory, and in the course of his championship he passed from the political partisan into the musical enthusiast, as we shall show in the sequel.

And first, he desired Pope Adrian to send men, skilled in the Gregorian chant into France, in order to instruct his French subjects in the style, who hitherto were only acquainted with the Gallican music. And that we may see how completely the spirit of Gregory had passed away from Rome, let us consider the supineness of Pope Adrian in responding to Charlemagne's request. For he sent teachers so incompetent and so carelessly chosen, that they did not agree with one another in any of their teachings. And being twelve in number, they were sent one to each of the principal towns in France.<sup>1</sup> But Charlemagne, going to hear the Christmas services at some of these places, found the singing at Metz to differ completely from that at Tours, and the singing at Treves from that of Paris. And dissatisfied with this first experiment, he again asked the Pope to send teachers, and this time to use more care in the selection. And Theodore and Bennet, two of the most learned singers in Rome, were sent to France,

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<sup>1</sup> The best account is that given by Th. Nivers, which is here followed. See his work p. 33. Other accounts in Gerbert I. &c.



and they brought with them an exact copy of the Antiphonary of St. Gregory, as it lay on the altar of St. Peter's. And Charlemagne settled one at Metz and the other at Soissons, and he commanded all the musicians and masters of choirs in the kingdom to assemble at one or other of these places, and rectify their false singing by the teachings of Theodore and Bennet.<sup>1</sup>

These men also taught the art of organ-playing to the French,<sup>2</sup> which it seems had been preserved in Italy among the other fragments of Pagan culture, though unknown to the rest of Europe. The first organ ever seen in France was an organ which had been sent as a present to Pepin, Charlemagne's father, by Constantine Copronymus, the Emperor of the East.<sup>3</sup> But the first organ ever built, was built by the directions of Charlemagne himself, and from the account we have of it, we may infer that the organ sent to Pepin, had been treated as a mere curiosity, possibly never played on, and in course of time broken and destroyed. For the building of Charlemagne's organ presupposes a strange instrument which men only knew from hearsay, as we shall see by the story itself:—It was when the Greek ambassadors came to Aix-la-Chapelle on a mission from another Constantine to Charlemagne, that stories began to spread about the court of the wonderful instruments they had brought with them, and among others of a complicated instrument, made of brazen cylinders, and bull's hide bellows, and pipes, which

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<sup>1</sup> Th. Nivers. Dissertation.

<sup>2</sup> Vita Caroli Magui per Monachum Engolismensem descripta, ad annum 787.

<sup>3</sup> Constantinus Imperator misit Regi Pippino inter cætera dona organum, quod antea non visum fuerat in Francia. Annales Mettenses. ad. a. 757.

could roar as loud as thunder, and yet could be reduced to the softness of a lyre, or tinkling bell. This plainly is an organ. And to gain the knowledge of its construction, Charlemagne sent artisans into the ambassadors' apartments, bidding them pretend to employ themselves on some other labour, but all the time to examine the structure of this organ, so that they might make another like it.<sup>1</sup> The organ thus made, stood in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle for many years, but it is plain that the art of organ-building must have spread pretty generally over France by the time that Theodore and Bennet came there. And to pause a moment over the history of the organ, let us see how the instrument had developed since the time we left it in Pagan Rome. And in the first place, its life has been mainly confined to the Eastern Empire, and especially to Constantinople, where we have constant, and continuous accounts of it from Pagan times straight on to the time we are writing of,<sup>2</sup> while in the West, that is, in Italy, its history is plunged in darkness. But these accounts, though they evince the favour in which the instrument was held, tell us little about its improvements in construction, which we are left to gather from our own inferences. And looking at this organ of Charlemagne's, it is plain that its main difference from the organ of Nero's time lies in the possession of stops, which therefore must have been invented in the interim. For that it possessed stops, we must inevitably assume from the words of the monkish chronicler, "that it could

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<sup>1</sup> Monachi Sangallensis. De reb. bell. Caroli Magni. II. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the uninterrupted series of accounts from the earliest times, in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' book *De Cærimoniis Aulæ Byzantinæ*.

roar as loud as thunder, and yet could babble as soft as a lyre or tinkling bell." Now in our account of Nero's organ, if we were right in assuming that the keys acted by means of cross slides, that is, by the same mechanism which we employ for our stops, then we must argue that the mechanism of pull-downs, pallets, and grooves, or an equivalent for these, had meantime been invented for the keys, and the slides appropriated for stops, as we use them at present. Or, if on the other hand we prefer to credit Nero's organ with a similar key action to our own, then we must admit that slides had been the new invention. In any case we must grant that stops had been added to the organ, and this is the main difference between the organ of Charlemagne and the organ of ancient Rome. In other respects there is a remarkable similarity. Both were water organs, as those two brazen cylinders will show us: for what purpose could they answer in a wind organ? But in a water organ they forced the air by means of pipes through the water into the air-condenser, from which it was conveyed into the wind-chest, and are indeed the identical barrels or vases of the Ctesibian instrument. But here there is a novelty, but it is the only one. In the organ of Ctesibius which Nero saw, the wind was pumped up the vases by means of pistons, which fitted into them, and were worked by levers underneath. But in Charlemagne's organ we hear of "bellows made of bull's hide," and evidently the bellows were used in place of the pistons and levers, and they blew the wind into the cylinders. Thereby the necessity of a valve at the top of the cylinders was done away with. In all other respects the organs were the same.

Now that the art of organ-playing had been

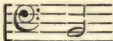
preserved in Italy, on the other hand, in unbroken tradition straight on from the classical times, is no hard case to prove. For the Water-organ, which was a novelty in the reign of Nero, had become so common and so popular by the time of Honorius, that no nobleman's house was complete without one, and further, portable water organs were made in great numbers, which could be carried by slaves from house to house, where concerts or musical gatherings were attended by their masters.<sup>1</sup> Now taking the date of Honorius as 400 A.D., it is no long step from thence to the year 660 A.D., when the next mention of organs occurs—in which year we hear that they were introduced by Pope Vitalian into the services of the church.<sup>2</sup> So that whatever barbarism and darkness had overspread Italy in the intervening period, there was no time for the knowledge of the organ to drop out in the short space of two centuries and a half, and to require a fresh introduction from Constantinople, as we have seen it but now introduced into France; but we must consider the organ of Pope Vitalian's time the lineal and direct descendant of the Roman organ under Nero. In Constantinople however, we must seek the real home of organ building, and the accounts which reach us from there, will enable us to perfect our conception of the organ of Charlemagne, even down to the number of pipes, which it contained. After the primitive organs of 4, 6, or 8 pipes, organs began to be built with 15 pipes, as we know not only from engravings on coins,<sup>3</sup> but also from the express testimony of a writer to that effect. This was

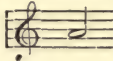
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<sup>1</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus XIV. 6.

<sup>2</sup> John the Deacon. Vita S. Gregorii. II.

<sup>3</sup> See Sigebertus Havercampus. Dissertatio de nummis contorniatis.

about the end of the 2nd century, and probably before the removal of the capital to Constantinople. The object of the pipes being 15 in number, was "to admit the modulation from mode to mode,"<sup>1</sup> and the modes being 7 in number would require 14 notes for their perfect exposition on the key board, from the lowest note of the Hypodorian  to the

highest note of the Mixolydian , which

together with the Proslambanomenos at the bottom would reckon 15 in all. By the time of Constantine the Great, that is, at the beginning of the 4th century, the pipes of the organ had increased to 26 in number, and this important piece of information we know in a singular manner, and by one of those freaks of history, which it will not be idle here to set down: Optatian, a court poet of the time, and a master of conceits, has written a poem on an Organ, and has so arranged his verse that it shall exactly represent the appearance of the organ itself; that is, the first verse is of so many letters, the second of one letter more than the first, the third one more than the second, and so on, so that the appearance of the verses exactly imitates the gradual rise of the front pipes of an organ, pipe after pipe. And to these he has appended shorter verses, all of the same length, which stand for keys, and one is at the bottom of each pipe. Now there are 26 verses in all, and 26 keys to match; and this is the way we know the make of organs at the beginning of the 4th century.<sup>2</sup> Without wishing to

<sup>1</sup> 'Commercia modorum.' Tertullian de Anima. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Optatian has other picture-poems than this. He has one on a Syrnix also, which is no less useful in informing us the number of pipes in Syrnixes of his time.



extend the compass of the keyboard by Charlemagne's time, though we might well be allowed to do so, we have to take into consideration the subsequent invention of stops, and since there were at least two stops in his organ, as we mentioned in our account of it, 52 pipes are the smallest number it could have contained.<sup>1</sup>

Such then was the organ which was built for the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, and doubtless for other churches in France at the same time, and Theodore and Bennet coming from Rome taught men the use of it. And doubtless the destination of the instrument to church purposes was also due to their influence. For in Constantinople to the last the organ was a purely secular instrument, being used in the circuses,<sup>2</sup> or at banquets to usher in the guests,<sup>3</sup> or at state ceremonies, as at those ceremonies observed in the Golden Hippodrome on the First Monday after Easter, when the Emperor was publicly welcomed by the people.<sup>4</sup> But the Roman organ had had a different history, and since the time of Pope Vitalian was regularly played in churches;<sup>5</sup> and now this ecclesiastical use was introduced into France.<sup>6</sup>

And Theodore and Bennet, the one at Soissons, the other at Metz, were vested with complete authority by Charlemagne over the French Music. And the reforms which they endeavoured to bring about, at any rate in the matter of singing, were at first no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the expression of Nicetas Chariates. Alex. Com. III. 2, *πολύαυλα ὄργανα*, which is equally suggestive, though less definite, than the above evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De. Cær. p. 167. Ed. L.

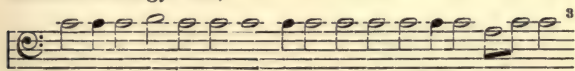
<sup>3</sup> Ib. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Theophanes. p. 321.

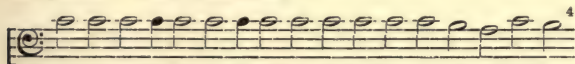
<sup>5</sup> Joan. Diac. Vita S. Greg. II.

<sup>6</sup> The Byzantine organs were most of them portable. Constantine. p. 219.

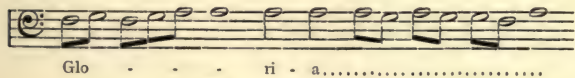
easy achievement. For the voices of the French singers, long accustomed to the simplicity of the Gallican style of song, would by no means yield themselves to those dainty graces of expression, and shakes, and turns, and *portamentos*,<sup>1</sup> of which we have found the Gregorian song to be full. "When they attempted it," says a writer of the time, "instead of a sweet and well turned tune resulting, their singing was like the noise of cartwheels rumbling over a causeway."<sup>2</sup> So different was the theory of fine singing among the French singers, that their highest aim was to sing as loud as possible on the one or two notes of which their chants consisted. The *Gloria Patri* in the Gallican Liturgy was,



Glo-ri-a pa-tri et fi-li-o et spi-ri-tu-i sanc-to.  
the psalm "Dixit Dominus,"—



Dix-it Do-mi-nus Do-mi-no me-o: se-de a dex-tris me-is.  
Let us compare these with the *Gloria Patri* of the Gregorian song,



Glo - - - ri - a.....

<sup>1</sup> "Tremulas vel vinnulas, sive collisibiles vel secabiles voces." John the Deacon.

<sup>2</sup> Bibuli gutturi barbara feritas, dum inflexionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore, quasi plaustra per gradus confuse sonantia, rigidas voces jactat. John the Deacon. II.

<sup>3</sup> Lebaëuf, *Traité sur le chant Ecclesiastique* p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Id. p. 35.



and think how violent was the change which Charlemagne set himself to bring about. Nor was it long before the French singers openly rebelled against the new method of chanting, and the disputes between them and the Romans ran high even at the court itself. On one occasion it was agreed to refer the merits of the two styles to Charlemagne himself for arbitration. But he without hearing the arguments turned to the French singers, and said, "Tell me, which is the purer, the water of the fountain, or the water of the rivulets that run at a distance from the fountain?" They said, the water of the fountain, and the further you go, the more must the rivulets be corrupted. He answered them: "Go ye then to the fountain of St. Gregory, for ye are the rivulets, and ye have manifestly corrupted the ecclesiastical *cantus*."<sup>2</sup>

He was very careful to convince himself that all his regulations were carried out to the letter. He would stop at churches on his journeys, and, going in suddenly during the singing assure himself personally that the Gregorian song was in daily use.<sup>3</sup> In his own private chapel, also, he would be present frequently at the practices, and conduct the singers with his staff.<sup>4</sup> He also published a law enjoining with the

<sup>1</sup> From an Antiphonary of the 12th century (French).

<sup>2</sup> The story is told in Cardinal Baronius, Hawkins, and others.

<sup>3</sup> Schletterer's *Geschichte der geistliche Dichtung*.

<sup>4</sup> Schletterer's *Geschichte der geistliche Dichtung*.

severest penalties that every clergyman in his empire should be perfectly acquainted with the Gregorian Music, and able to sing therein when required.<sup>1</sup> In his Capitularies, or Legal Code of the Empire, no less than six statute laws exist commanding the exclusive use of the Gregorian song, and to some of these the reason is appended, "in order to produce unity among those acknowledging the authority of the Pope, and for the sake of the peaceful concord of the Church of God."<sup>2</sup>

This political reason indeed was the strong one that led him to insist on such universal obedience. The doctrine of one church, one empire, became clearer to him as his conquests increased in number, and at last developed into a great maxim of state. The climax of his policy was reached when he was crowned Emperor of the West by Pope Leo III., at St. Peter's but the beginning of it had been long before—even before his time. For it was in the reign of his father, Pepin, that the association between the Popes and the Frankish King had first begun, and when Pope Stephen II. came to claim aid from Pepin against the Lombards, it is said that the Roman Antiphonary was introduced into the Royal Chapel, out of compliment to the visitor.<sup>3</sup> But it had dropped out of use again, and its introduction by Charlemagne was in every sense a pure innovation; and what resistance it met with, and how he ultimately achieved its establishment over the Gallican, has now been told.

Now the introduction of the Gregorian Music into

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<sup>1</sup> Ib.

<sup>2</sup> "Ob unanimitatem apostolicæ sedis et sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ pacificam concordiam," in 1st Capitulary 78. ad. a. 789.

<sup>3</sup> Walafridus. De rebus ecclesiasticis. Cap. 25.

Spain and its triumph over the Gothic, which so nearly resembled the Gallican, might well find a place here, although it belongs to a later period than the present, and is in no way connected with Charlemagne. In Spain the Gregorian music met with more opposition than it did in France, and its establishment was due to Alphonso I., king of Castile. After much contention between the two services, the Castilian nobles resolved to put the issue to the test of single combat. There was a champion chosen for the Roman liturgy, and one for the Gothic, and the Gothic champion was victorious. The two liturgies were then submitted to the ordeal of fire. A brasier was lighted, and both liturgies committed to the flames. The Roman was burnt, but the Gothic was left entire. Yet despite this the Roman Antiphony was introduced by King Alphonso, as we shall mention hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

Now to spread the Roman music in other parts of his empire, Charlemagne applied to the Pope to send two teachers into Germany with copies of St. Gregory's Antiphony, to instruct the people there. And the Pope sent two celebrated singers, named Petrus and Romanus, who went to the Monastery of St. Gall,<sup>2</sup> and taught the monks, and from St. Gall the knowledge of the Gregorian Song spread all over Germany.<sup>3</sup> And he himself in his conquests over the Saxons introduced the Gregorian Song along with Christianity among these nations.<sup>4</sup> And in this way was the

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<sup>1</sup> Durandus *Rationale Divinorum Offic.* II. ii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> This is agreeable to the account of Ekkehardus.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Bollandists. Act. Sanct.* for April. p. 582. "Abinde" i.e., from St. Gall, "sumpsit exordium Germania sive Teutonia."

<sup>4</sup> Others would postpone it till the time of St. Adalbert.



knowledge of the Gregorian song dispersed throughout all his dominions.

And in order to secure its firm establishment, and to provide against what might happen when his influence had passed away, he caused schools to be built throughout his Empire, and more particularly in France, where we have the most authentic accounts about them. And the Song Schools in France were the Schools of Metz, Soissons, Orleans, Sens, Toul, Dijon, Cambrai, Paris, and Lyons.<sup>1</sup> And at these schools nothing was taught but Singing and Gregorian music, to which afterwards Organ-playing was added. And there were other schools besides these, that is to say, the High Schools, in which music was mixed with other instruction, as the High School at Tours, in which Alcuin taught.<sup>2</sup> and the Palace School at Aix-la-Chapelle, where Sulpicius was the teacher, and which was presided over by Charlemagne himself.<sup>3</sup> And besides these, there were the Infant Schools, in which the subjects of instruction were psalm-singing, musical notation, general singing, arithmetic, and grammar.<sup>4</sup> So that there were three orders of schools altogether, and the pupils passed from one to the other, as from first grade schools to second grade schools with us. And the most advanced schools of the three orders were the High Schools, in which Music was mixed with other instruction, for these were intended for purposes of general culture, and not merely to train professional musicians. In these schools music was taught as a branch of the

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<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Baronius. *Ann. Eccles.* Tom. IX. *Vita Caroli Magni per Monach. Engol., &c.*

<sup>2</sup> *Chronica Fontenell.*

<sup>3</sup> Schletterer's *Geschichte der geistliche Dichtung.*

<sup>4</sup> *Capitulary.* I, 70. ad. a. 789.

*Quadrivium*, or Cycle of Four sciences—a division which we have already seen in the works of Boëthius. For the Seven Sciences of Martianus Capella, or Seven Disciplines of Cassiodorus, by whom they are demonstrated as commensurate with the whole extent of human knowledge, are divided by Boëthius into Moral and Speculative; and under Moral he classes Logic, Rhetoric, and Grammar, and under Speculative, Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic, and Music—the last holding a unique position in the list, as partaking in a manner both of Moral and Speculative qualities. Now the first three of these were called the *Trivium* or Road of Three Sciences,<sup>1</sup> and the last four the *Quadrivium* or Road of Four, and the description of these groups did not vary, except that for “Speculative” was substituted the term “Physical,” and the *Quadrivium* was apportioned to the Science of Physics. And in this form, then, were they studied in the Upper Schools or High Schools.<sup>2</sup> And Alcuin considers them all as but leading to Theology, or as forming a branch of it; and this is the first hint of that swallowing up of all things into Theology, which was soon to overcast Europe. And Music in the *Quadrivium* would be regarded as a subject for Philosophy, and also the higher details of its science would be dealt with. In Alcuin’s treatise on Music, there are abstract definitions, and general reflections, but also some new and useful classifications and principles. And of the former let us instance his definition of Music. “What is Music?” he asks. “It is a division of sounds, a modulation of voices,

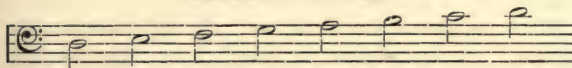
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<sup>1</sup> Better, “the threefold way to knowledge”—“*triplex via ad eloquentiam*,” says Ugutius.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Nisard.

and a variety of singing." And afterwards, "It is a discipline, which speaks of the numbers which are found in sounds."<sup>1</sup> And of more technically musical matter, we find among other things a new classification of the Eight Gregorian tones. For after asking, "What is a Tone?" "It is the sum and difference of the whole musical system,"<sup>2</sup>—which it must be admitted is a very happy definition—he proceeds to divide them into Authentic and Plagal, deriving Authentic from the Greek *αὐθεντικός*, which he considers to be equivalent to *auctor* and *magister*, and therefore, to translate it, we may call the Authentic the "Master Tones;" and Plagal he derives from *πλάγιος* (*obliquus seu lateralis*), and interprets as "Subordinate," or "Inferior." And taking the Eight Tones, Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixolydian, Hypodorian, Hypophrygian, Hypolydian, and Hypomixolydian, he arranges them thus:—

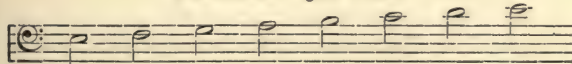
DORIAN. 1st Tone.



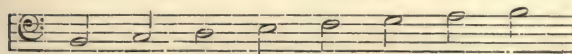
HYPDORIAN. 2nd Tone.



PHRYGIAN. 3rd Tone.



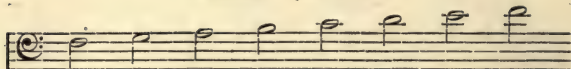
HYPOPHRYGIAN. 4th Tone.



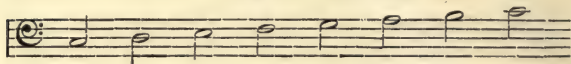
<sup>1</sup> Alcuin's Musical Catechism.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

## LYDIAN. 5th Tone.



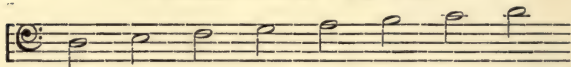
## HYPOLYDIAN. 6th Tone.



## MIXOLYDIAN. 7th Tone.



## HYPOMIXOLYDIAN. 8th Tone.



and regarding the Dorian and the Hypodorian as in fact one Tone, because they both are based on the same Tonic, or Final, D,—for it will be remembered that this was the principle of pairing which Gregory employed all through his arrangement,—he named the Dorian the Authentic Tone, and the Hypodorian the Plagal, or Subordinate of that Tone, because the chants in that Tone do not ascend so high above the final as they do in the Authentic, but are of a more subdued and graver character—which is merely reducing to a classification the principle of Gregory's arrangement. And the other Tones in the same manner—that is, the Hypophrygian, the Plagal of the Phrygian, the Hypolydian, the Plagal of the Lydian, and the Hypomixolydian, the Plagal of the Mixolydian. While the others, of which these are the Plagals, are Authentic Tones. And to this classification of Alcuin's the science of succeeding years has only been able to add the following more exact rule for distinguishing them;—That when the chant ascends

to the 6th note or more above its Final, it is Authentic, and when it does not ascend so high as the 6th note, it is Plagal.

Such is a specimen of the instruction given in the High Schools in which Alcuin taught, where Music was treated as part of the *Quadrivium*. But in the Palace Schools, in which the personal influence of Charlemagne reigned supreme, technical instruction in the practice of music was added to the scientific aspect of the art, and the same exercises were pursued, perhaps even in greater advancement, as at the Song Schools themselves. Scholars were drafted from all schools alike to the Palace School, and a good singer no less than a good theorist had always the chance of passing thither.<sup>1</sup> Here the Emperor himself would attend the classes during the lectures of the masters, and observe the conduct of the scholars, singling out any for special commendation, and sometimes, as at his choir practices, conducting the singers himself.<sup>2</sup> His interest in the spread of the Gregorian Music having now satisfied itself by the establishment of the music throughout the empire, spent its energies on improving and perfecting the performance of it. In his own family there were constant rehearsals and practices of the Church Song, and his daughters received three hours musical instruction every day.<sup>3</sup> The choir of his private chapel was allowed to have no superior in the empire. None but the best singers dare enter it, for fear of

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<sup>1</sup> Schletterer's *Geschichte der geistliche Dichtung*. Th. Nisard, *Charlemagne*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> *Monachi Sangallensis. De ecclesiastica cura Caroli Magni*. 1. Cap. 7.



the emperor's criticisms,<sup>1</sup> and, owing to his constant supervision, the singing attained a point of excellence, perhaps not equalled in Rome itself. His habit of keeping discipline was a singular one, for knowing that the practice of the young clerks and choristers was to mark their piece of the chant with their thumbnail on a piece of wax, and so wait carelessly till their turn came, without looking at the music, it was his habit to point with his finger or with a stick at the next who was to go on, and so he compelled them all to be attentive. And when he wanted the singer to stop, he used to cough. Such was the terror in which they held the Emperor, that directly they heard him cough, they would stop, even though it were in the middle of a sentence, and immediately the next would go on, at whom he pointed with his staff.<sup>2</sup> In this way he made his choir a pattern choir, and he recommended the same strictness to others.<sup>3</sup>

But more interesting to us than either the High Schools or even the Palace School, must be the Song Schools themselves, of which the chief was the School of Metz. This was the place to which the Singer, Theodore, had been sent in the early part of Charlemagne's reign, and the "*Cantus Mettensis*" was as famous a term as the "*Cantus Romanus*" itself,<sup>4</sup> and could even claim some small antiquity before Theodore's arrival. There was said to have been a school here in Pepin's time, and Metz was undoubtedly

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<sup>1</sup> Schletterer, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Monachi Sangallensis. De ecclesiastica cura Caroli Magni I. Cap. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

<sup>4</sup> Cardinal Baronius, Ann. Eccles. Tom. IX, quoting John the Deacon.

the parent from which all the other singing schools had sprung.<sup>1</sup> In these schools, then, the most elaborate instructions were given in the Gregorian Song. Class singing was the ordinary method of practice,<sup>2</sup> which, if we consider that the singers were destined for church choirs, was also the more natural one. Excessive care was bestowed, so that large masses of voices might intone their words syllable for syllable all together, the greatest stress being laid on the concluding notes of the chants, and in Graduals and longer pieces on the concluding notes of the phrases,<sup>3</sup> so as to ensure good habits in that most dangerous part of the melody. The singers were trained to hold their breaths, so as to acquire the power of taking long ones,<sup>4</sup> in order that each phrase might be sung from beginning to end in the same breath, however long it might extend. Equality of tone was a great object of study,<sup>5</sup> and no doubt the acquisition of this would be reserved for solo practice. "A round, healthy, and crisp voice" was the aim set before the singer,<sup>6</sup> and exercises for the attainment of this must have been written and performed. Nor must we forget those countless turns, shakes, appoggiaturas, &c., which stud Gregorian Music, for all of which the most copious practice would be necessary.

Then for the acquirement of that difficult notation in which the music was written, there were mnemonic verses, which had to be committed to memory by the pupils, and of which some have come down to us, and others, also, which date from a later period :

<sup>1</sup> Paul the Deacon. *Lib. de episcopis Mettensibus.*

<sup>2</sup> The St. Gall MS. "*Instituta Patrum de Modo Psallendi.*"

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*                      <sup>4</sup> *Instituta Patrum de Modo Psallendi.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*                      <sup>6</sup> *Ib.*

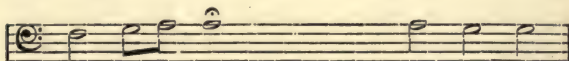
Eptaphonus, Strophicus, Punctum, Porrectus, Oriscus,  
 Virgula, Cephalicus, Clivis, Quilisma, Podatus,  
 Scandicus, et Salicus, Climacus, Torculus, Ancus,  
 Et Pressus minor et major. Non pluribus utor.  
 Neumarum signis erras qui plura refingis.

Another table :—

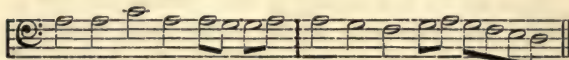
Scandicus, et salicus, climacus, torculus, ancus,  
 Pentafonus, strophicus, gnomo, porrectus, oriscus,  
 Virgula, cephalicus, clivis, quilisma, podatus,  
 Pandula, sinuosa, gutturalis, tramea, cenix,  
 Proslambaromenon, trigonicus, ygon, pentadicon.

Above the words the figures of the notes were set, as we have written them, and doubtless these verses were often set to jingling tunes, in order to imprint them on the memory better.

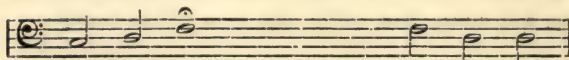
Such things we might also imagine the children to have sung in the Infant Schools, where we are expressly told that Musical Notation formed one of the subjects of instruction. Or even those exercises in the eight tones, which certainly were originally written for the Song Schools themselves, and always used there :—



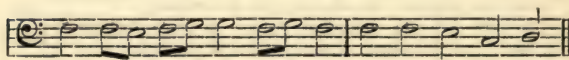
Pri - mus tonus sic incipit, et sic flec - ti - tur,



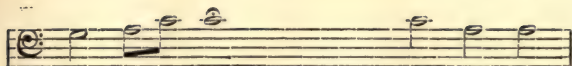
et sic me - di - a - tur, et sic fi - ni - tur.....



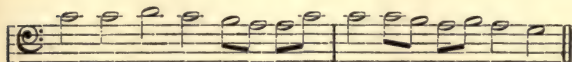
Se - cun - dus tonus sic incipit, et sic flec - ti - tur,



et sic me - di - a - tur, et sic fi - ni - tur.



Ter - ti - us tonus sic incipit, et sic flec - ti - tur.



et sic me - di - a - tur, et sic fi - ni - tur.

Even to these Infant Schools did Charlemagne's care extend. He has regulations for them too. "Do not suffer your boys," he writes in a capitulary of his code, "either to sing or to write the Gregorian Music one note different from its true form."<sup>1</sup> And again, "If you want a copy made from some Cathedral MS., do not trust the making of it to a boy, for fear he makes mistakes, but let some man of ripe years make you your copy."<sup>2</sup> And there is another statute about them which we will also quote, "If a poor boy applies to you for instruction in singing, and is not able to pay his school pence, do not turn him away, but give him his lessons free."<sup>3</sup>

By these means, then, and by the efforts of Charlemagne, was the knowledge of the Gregorian Music spread; and whereas before his time it was confined to the South of Italy and the remote island of Britain, by the time of his death it was established as the Music of civilised Europe.

<sup>1</sup> In Baluze's Collection. I. 204. Capitularies.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

<sup>3</sup> In Baluze's Collection. I. 204. Capitularies.





BOOK IV.

THE MIDDLE AGES, THE ARABIANS, AND  
THE TROUBADOURS.



## BOOK IV.

### THE MIDDLE AGES, THE ARABIANS, AND THE TROUBADOURS.

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#### CHAPTER I.

Now this is the story of how the Antiphonary of St. Gregory was brought to the monastery of St. Gall. For that Petrus and Romanus were sent there by the command of Charlemagne in order to spread the Gregorian Music from thence through Germany, the monks deny, but they say that only one of them came there, and they relate the story in this way:— Petrus and Romanus were two celebrated singers, who were sent by the Pope to the great Song School at Metz, to give their assistance to the Roman teachers already there. And they were each provided with a new copy of St. Gregory's Antiphonary to convey to Metz. And it was in the Grisons, and close by the Lake of Constance, that the cold became very intense, and as they travelled on their road, Romanus began to sink under the cold, till at last he could go no further. And Petrus, finding that he must leave him on the road, for there was no help nigh, nor any

human habitation, said to him, "Give me your Antiphonary, that I may bear it to Metz, so that both may arrive there in safety as the Pope desired." But Romanus would not part with his Antiphonary, saying that only death should separate it from him. And being left by Petrus in the snow, he in a miraculous manner afterward recovered, and contrived to drag himself along to the monastery of St. Gall, which was a few miles distant, where he knocked at the gate and demanded admission.<sup>1</sup> This is the account which the monks give, and they say that having taken him in and tended him till he was restored to health, he afterwards took up his abode with them in gratitude for what they had done for him, and taught them the Gregorian Song out of the Antiphonary which he had brought with him. And Romanus lived to be an old man, and such was the fame of his teachings, that scholars came from all parts to St. Gall in order to learn the Gregorian Music; and the Antiphonary he had brought was a priceless possession for the monastery, for it had been copied by his own hand from the manuscript of St. Gregory in St. Peter's, and there were but few genuine copies in existence. Even among those sent to Charlemagne there were but one or two, for the original manuscript at Rome was so difficult of access and was hemmed round with such restrictions, that the Popes themselves could not easily obtain admission to it. Having been bound by a chain to the altar during Gregory's lifetime,<sup>2</sup> it was after his death enclosed in a casket, and placed in a secret recess

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<sup>1</sup> Ekehardus. *Liber de Casibus St. Galli.* in the Bollandists. I. Ap. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Père Lambillotte. *Antiphonaire de St. Gregoire.* Præfat.

under the tomb of St. Peter,<sup>1</sup> and, according to his directions, was never to be disturbed, unless some great contention should arise about a disputed reading, an event which only occurred once or twice in as many centuries. And Romanus used equal care for the preservation of his copy. When he was at the point of death, he caused a casket to be made, and a secret recess to be prepared, in imitation of St. Gregory, and there his Antiphony was deposited, by which means it has remained unimpaired to the present day.

And the School which Romanus had founded at St. Gall soon rivalled, and even surpassed in fame the great Song Schools of Metz and Soissons. And as years wore on, the advantages of situation began to tell. For after the death of Charlemagne, and in the troubles and confusion which enveloped his empire under the weak rule of his sons, many of those noble foundations which he had instituted became a prey to rapacious princes, or were suffered to fall into decay. A town like Metz, standing on the highway between France and Germany, and after the separation of these two kingdoms a great frontier fortress, was much exposed to the wind of political commotion, and the same may be said of Lyons, Paris, and other places, in all of which Schools of Song had been established by Charlemagne, and were now running to ruin under his successors. But the School of St. Gall, secluded in mountain fastnesses, was far removed from the turmoil of the world beyond, and it served as a lamp in those dark ages to keep alive the flame of art and knowledge, after it had been extinguished in the rest of Europe. And it lay in

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<sup>1</sup> Ib.



the midst of pathless woods on the banks of the river Steinach, which flows into the Lake of Constance.<sup>1</sup> Here it was that St. Gall, the Irish monk, and companion of the wanderings of St. Columban, had sunk down exhausted beneath a hazel tree, saying, "*Hæc requies mea.*" And round that hazel tree where he had made his hermitage, they had built a shrine, and afterwards a chapel was built, and so the great Monastery of St. Gall had gradually grown up.<sup>2</sup> And it had many celebrated abbots, all men of learning, who had spent great care in gathering together, or making copies of all the best manuscripts of the time. There was the Abbot Werdon, and the Abbot Gotzpertus, and the Abbots Grimaldus, Hartmotus, and Salomon.<sup>3</sup> And under the Abbot Gotzpertus it could be said, that so great was the quantity of books that the library was not sufficient to contain them,<sup>4</sup> and they had to be dispersed in other parts of the monastery.<sup>5</sup> And chiefly was it manuscripts of the Classics that were collected or copied at St. Gall; and most of Cicero's writings, and all Quintilian, Silius Italicus, and Ammianus Marcellinus were preserved by copies made in this Monastery.<sup>6</sup> But it was not till the time of the later abbots, that is, Grimaldus, Hartmotus, and Salomon, that the copying of music was much engaged in. But under these, and particularly under the Abbot Salomon, music began to be copied in great quantities,<sup>7</sup> so that

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<sup>1</sup> "Inter spissas silvas," &c. Eckeh.

<sup>2</sup> Eckehardus. Lib. de Cas. I.

<sup>3</sup> Eckehardus. Lib. de Cas.

<sup>4</sup> Tantam copiam librorum patravit, &c. Lib. de Cas. VI.

<sup>5</sup> Ib.

<sup>6</sup> Eckehardus. Lib. de Cas.

<sup>7</sup> Eckehardus. Lib. de Cas.

all Germany was provided with its manuscripts of the Gregorian Song by copies made at St. Gall.<sup>1</sup> Now the way in which the copying was performed was this: There was a room in the Monastery, called the *Scriptorium*, and it was in charge of a superintendent, called the *Chartularius*, and certain monks, called *Librarii*, were appointed as scribes. And they were provided with pens, ink, and parchment, chalk, pumice-stones for rubbing the parchment to make it smooth, knives to scrape the parchment to make erasures, and a large knife for cutting it into pages.<sup>2</sup> They also had tablets of wax and styluses, such as the Romans used, but these were used only to write the list of services for the choir, and not for general purposes.<sup>3</sup> And the music was written as we have seen it in a former chapter, that is to say, the words in connected lines, and over these the musical notes or neumes. And this we have described before, but we omitted then to speak of the Illumination of the Manuscripts, and this we must do now. The first letter of every Antiphon or Psalm, or in a Hymn the first letter of every line, was beautifully illuminated. Sometimes the whole of the first line or two, was coloured, or six letters would be coloured red, the next six blue, the next six green, and so on. But whether in Hymns or Antiphons, the letter at the very beginning of the piece was always more richly illuminated than the rest. Its size was increased accordingly, so as to admit of the colours being laid on in some quantities, and then, if it were an R, the straight stroke would be coloured drab, the round

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<sup>1</sup> Acta Sanctorum. Apr. 582.

<sup>2</sup> Ducange. Art. Scriptorium, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

strokes green, and perhaps the thicker parts of the strokes tricked up with little round pieces of gold. In an A, the stroke to the right would be painted half green, half blue, the stroke to the left green with white embroidery, and in the space between the two, imitations of flowers or ribbons would be drawn, and all this often picked out with gold.<sup>1</sup> I's, T's, L's, and generally all the straight letters seem to have offered most attractions to the penman. I have seen beautiful I's of green, white, and gold, and the tints of them are as clear as stained glass; and I have seen T's that extend like great trees nearly all over the page, done in shining black and gold, with things like great wheels on them with gold centres. Now to produce these beautiful colours they had pigments made of gums, cinnabar, pyrites, juices of herbs, varnish, indigo, and ochre; but the neumes, or musical notes above the letters, were never illuminated, but were written in the common black ink, that was made of soot or ivory black mixed with water.<sup>2</sup>

Now we have spoken here of Hymns, and it is strange to find the monks of St. Gall engaged in copying Hymns, which we have known to be definitely banished from the services of the Church, by the time of St. Gregory. They must therefore have revived, despite all the opposition that was shown them, or have been preserved in some manner to these times, which are nearly two centuries later than then. And it will be interesting to consider how this has been done. And starting with the time of Ambrose, we have seen how the Hymn was the

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<sup>1</sup> This elegance and profusion of ornament will be found in most of the larger MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Ducange. Gloss.

lineal descendant of the ancient Pagan Music, and stood out even then in marked opposition and contrast to the Christian Psalms—how they were so wild and formless, and void of all time and rhythm, being, indeed, very chants, or shapeless recitations of impassioned words, while it was full of time and tune, based on bold rhythms, which had first sprung up in Grecian dances, and though much fallen from their ancient beauty, yet still melodious and strong. And even at St. Ambrose's time there were stern Christians who saw but trifling and folly in his hymns, thinking them idle catches which might serve to beguile weak men into the fold, but also might seduce others out of it, from the strain of Paganism which ran through them; while nobler spirits, such as St. Augustine, found them too beautiful, and almost feared to hear them. And after St. Ambrose's death, and when the regular service of the church, which we know now as the Mass, was gradually growing into the shape which Popes Gelasius and Gregory set the seal on, these were the reasons which induced earnest men to reject those beautiful melodies, preferring Christian purity to rarities of beauty, which might yet be soiled with worldliness or worse. In this way the cultivation of the hymn was diminished into an amusement of learned leisure, and except in the home of the Ambrosian Song, that is, in Lombardy, and particularly Milan, knew no other than a literary life. But in Lombardy a school of hymn writers had flourished in direct descent from St. Ambrose, the last of whom was Paul the Deacon,<sup>1</sup> Chancellor to that King Desiderius, who was the King of Lombardy when

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<sup>1</sup> The famous hymn with which he is credited, is, "Ut queant  
laxis."

Charlemagne conquered the country, and destroyed all the Ambrosian books. And if we would pursue even the literary life of the hymn, we must search for it chiefly in remote and outlying districts of the Christian world, as in Spain, where several bishops of Toledo wrote hymns, as St. Eugenius, for instance;<sup>1</sup> St. Isidore of Seville, also, and Braulis, Bishop of Saragossa, were famous hymn writers:<sup>2</sup> in Britain, where the Venerable Bede wrote many hymns. But how purely literary was this school of hymn writing we may judge, when we learn that the Church of Spain was of all churches the most rigorous in its denunciations of hymn singing, and that such of these hymns as are found noted in MSS. are generally set to tunes of St. Ambrose, St. Fortunatus, Prudentius, or other early composers,<sup>3</sup> which, from their being invariably in similar metres, could easily be done.

How then were those ancient tunes themselves preserved, and the Hymn taught to live a humble life, truly, but yet an uninterrupted one? How came it that in the destruction of the Ambrosian Song the Hymn was not itself entirely destroyed, that is, the Musical Hymn, for the hymns of scholars and learned men need not concern us here? And the hymns were preserved in the private devotions of the monks. Even in the time of St. Benedict himself,<sup>4</sup> who came a little before St. Gregory, this licence was granted to men so immersed in the spiritual life, that no worldly toy could harm them; which might afterwards have been extended to them in virtue of their learning,

<sup>1</sup> The hymns, "Rex deus immensæ," and "Criminum moles," are ascribed to him.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel's Hymnologus.

<sup>3</sup> Schletterer's Geschichte der geistliche Dichtung.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.



whereby they were enabled to appreciate and love the relics of a fallen antiquity. In the privacy of the monasteries, the hymn had found a shelter, while the clergy and popes were storming at it from without; and at the very moment when Charlemagne was uprooting the liturgy of St. Ambrose at Milan, monks were singing Ambrosian hymns in the cloisters of St. Denys.

Now according to the dispositions and partialities of the monks themselves, so would the life of the Hymn be in various monasteries and among various orders. Some orders that we know of were expressly forbidden to cultivate learning; and led the life of visionaries and enthusiasts, who would find greater nourishment in the vague and passionate utterances of the Gregorian Song, than in the graceful tranquillity of the classical style; while with others, and these were the learned fraternities, regular schools of hymn-writing sprang up, that were founded on the models of St. Ambrose. Particularly was this the case at the monastery of St. Gall, which was the most learned monastery in Europe, and most of all calculated to afford a nursery to this remnant of ancient art. We have spoken before of the learning of these monks, but we have yet to hear that they were such accomplished Latinists, that they could greet royalty with odes in Sapphics,<sup>1</sup> and that even in this dark age all the forms of Latin verse were copiously cultivated by them. Here then a great school of hymn-writers arose, and it was chiefly in the time of their famous Abbot Salomon,<sup>2</sup> among whom are celebrated Ratpert, Hartmannus, Notker, and Werembert.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the occasion of the visit of Charles the Fat to the Monastery.

<sup>2</sup> Eckehardus, *Lib. de Casibus*,

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

And we hear Notker recommending the study of Prudentius to one who applied to him for advice on hymn-writing;<sup>1</sup> so it is plain that their hymns were founded on the ancient models, not only in their words, but also most probably in their music too—for the hymns of the monks of St. Gall were not the mere literary compositions we have spoken of in the case of St. Isidore and others, but destined for actual use in the choir. Yet in their ordinary daily services were these new hymns not generally employed, but still the ancient hymns of St. Ambrose and other ancient writers remained in use, and were sung without any change in the same form in which they had first received them. And being Benedictines, they used selected hymns in the order set down by St. Benedict, who had selected the most favourite hymns, and appointed them to be sung by the monks of his fraternity.<sup>2</sup> And they sung them at the Services of the Hours, which all the Monks in Europe alike performed daily. And there were eight Services of the Hours: the first was Matins, which was at three o'clock in the morning, and for this service the monks rose at two, and spent the hour before it in private prayer in their cells. And when three o'clock approached, the bell in the great belfry of the monastery began to ring, and the words it seemed to say were, "*Exsurge qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis*," "Awake thou that sleepest and arise from the dead."<sup>3</sup> And in the dark of the early morning the monks hastened to the chapel, and having all assembled, the bell ceased, and they began the service of Matins.

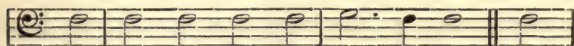
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<sup>1</sup> Eckehardus. Vita B. Notkeri. (in the Bollandists.)

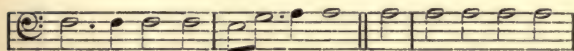
<sup>2</sup> Schletterer's Geschichte der geistliche Dichtung.

<sup>3</sup> Durandus. Rationale Divinor. Officio. I. VI,

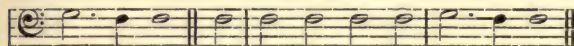
And at this they sang fifteen psalms to the Gregorian Tones; and also the Antiphon, *Deus in adjutorium*; and the *Gloria Patri* to it. Then another Antiphon, the Pater Noster, the Credo, and a hymn of St. Ambrose, which was appointed for this daily Matin service.<sup>1</sup> And it was one the most beautiful of all the hymns he wrote; and to be a wayfarer among those hills in the moonlight, and hear the monks singing the morning hymn of St. Ambrose, was like listening to the voices of angels.



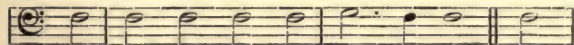
Iam lu - cis or - to si - de - re, De -



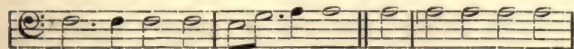
um pre - ce - mur sup - pli - ces, Ut in di - ur - nis



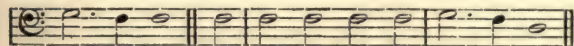
ac - ti - bus, Nos ser - vet a no - cen - ti - bus,



Lin - guam re - fre - nans tem - pe - ret, No



li - tis hor - ror in - gru - at; Vi - sum fo - ven - do



con - te - gat, Ne va - ni - ta - tes hau - ri - at.

<sup>1</sup> The substance of the Services here and afterwards is taken from a Benedictine service of the Hours, (10th century.) MS.

Ut cum di . es abs - ces - se - rit, Noc .

tem - que sors re - dux - e - rit, Mun - di per abs - ti -

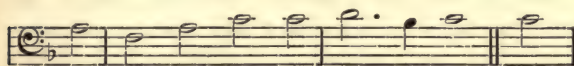
nen - ti - am Chri - sti ca - na - mus glo - ri - am.

And with this they opened their day of prayer, beseeching God to save them from all evil thoughts and actions during the coming day. And after Matins were over, the second Hour, that is, the service of Lauds, followed next, with an interval of a few minutes between. And at this they sang Psalms and Antiphons in like manner, and another beautiful hymn of St. Ambrose, though scarcely perhaps so beautiful as this one. These two services over, they retired to their cells again, many to rest, but some to pray, until they heard the Bell for Prime, which was the third Hour of Service, though but the first of the day, for it was held at six in the morning. And to this service they went in procession through the cloisters, the monks and the choir boys, carrying candles and chanting psalms.<sup>1</sup> And the service was but little different from that of Matins, though with different Antiphons and Psalms, and a different hymn. After it was over, they sat in the cloisters, while the boys practised singing under their direction, and then followed confession and other religious duties.<sup>2</sup> Now the next three services were Tierce at nine, Sext at twelve, and Nones at three o'clock in the afternoon.

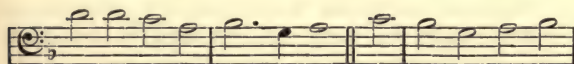
<sup>1</sup> Ducange. Gloss. in Voc.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

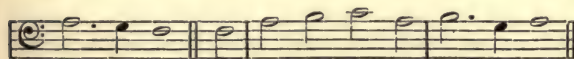
And for each of these the great bell of the monastery rang three times, that is, with three changes of ringing,<sup>1</sup> whereas for Prime it had rung in one monotonous refrain;<sup>2</sup> but for Matins more brilliantly than for all the other services, pealing and changing its rhythm most frequently,<sup>3</sup> and where there were chimes, which sometimes happened even at this early age, being six bells in all,<sup>4</sup> the chimes were always rung for matins. And the services of Tierce, Sext, Nones, were the same repetition of Psalms and Hymns that we have said before, and this was a Hymn of Ambrose that was sometimes sung at them:—



Con - di - tor al - me si - de - rum, Æ -



ter - na lux cre - den - ti - um, Chri - ste, re - demp - tor



om - ni - um, Ex - au - di pre - ces sup - pli - cum.

And what heavenly melody lies here! But shall we hear the evening hymn, as we have before heard the morning hymn? And when the day was drawing to a close, they held their Vespers, and at Vespers they sang the hymn to Mary's star, that is, the moon,

<sup>1</sup> Durandus. Rationale Divinorum Off. I. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. These various forms of ringing are alluded to in monkish phraseology as the simpulsation, the compulsatlon, and the dupulsation respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Kircher's Musurgia. VI.



which was now rising in the evening sky :—<sup>1</sup>



And it was at this service, or shortly after it, that the Angelus was rung, and it was rung at the same hour from every monastery in Europe, and whoever heard it, no matter what he might be engaged in, or where he might be, that is, of the villagers or country people, he must sign the sign of the cross, and repeat three times the *Ave Maria*, which is the Angelic Salutation that the Angel made to Mary<sup>2</sup>— And the Angelus, which at first was only rung in the evening, was afterwards rung three times a day, namely, at morning, and at midday too. And the last service of the Hours was the service of Compline, which was held at seven o'clock, and the hymn usually sung at Compline was the hymn of St. Fortunatus, "*Te lucis ante terminum*," "Before the ending of the day." And these were the Services of the Hours, and the manner in which they were performed, which all the monks in Europe alike performed daily.

<sup>1</sup> Quod non modo sicut stella maris, ("star of the sea,") sed etiam ut cum Lunâ comparata, nuncupatur B. V. M. "maris stella," testatur Danielus. Thesau. Hymnologic. I. 205.

<sup>2</sup> "Quilibet audiens cujusque status fuerit" &c., runs the regulation.

Now we have read these hymns that have been written above, and seen how very different they are to the music of Gregory, and how they repeat in every note of them that ancient Pagan music which his had displaced, being indeed lineal descendants from that far off time of beauty, which shall never but only in dusky repetitions be seen in the world again. And the Pagan music had voiced itself in these melodious and tuneful hymns, and they had been preserved in the services of the monks, as we have said. But yet were they without much influence on the people at large; for first, they were in Latin, a language which the common people could not understand, and secondly, they were sung at services which no one was present at but only the monks themselves. Only through latticed windows, or echoing from distant cloisters, did their sounds come to the ears of the outside world, and they were shut up in convents to grace the services of recluses, but not to benefit and improve the music of general life. The people, accustomed to the service of the Mass, formed all their ideas of music from that alone, which consisted, as we have seen, in Graduals, Antiphons, Introits, &c., couched in the freest and most luxuriant recitative of the Gregorian Song, and were quite ignorant that there was another order of music in existence, far more melodious and far more likely to please, because of its rhythms and its tune, which is always the popular element in music.

So then thus it had been for some centuries past, for four hundred years had passed away since the days of St. Ambrose and St. Hilary, until, at the time we are writing of, there lived at the monastery of St. Gall a monk of the name of Notker, and he

is called by some St. Notker, because of his beautiful and holy life. And he was a great and celebrated hymn writer,<sup>1</sup> and the finest musician who had been at St. Gall since the time of Romanus himself, who brought the Antiphonary there. And St. Notker had written a treatise on this Antiphonary,<sup>2</sup> being a master of the Gregorian Song. But most of all was he skilled in hymn-writing, as we have said. And he was a solitary man, who avoided the company of his brother monks, and would walk about in secret places by himself, meditating on his music and his poetry.<sup>3</sup> And his mind was stored with the beautiful hymns of Prudentius and of Ambrose,<sup>4</sup> but he was not content with imitating these, but thought he would try and introduce some of their beauties to the world at large. For his heart yearned to the simple people, whom he saw attending the services of the churches. They were so ignorant and poor, and many of them serfs and slaves to the great barons of the country; and the Sunday service, which was the one bright spot in their week of toil, was far above them, not only because its words were in Latin, but also from the florid and restless style of the Gregorian Music, with its constant mæanderings and runs, which they were unable to follow, and must needs therefore be listeners only. There were but two places in the whole service where they could join in, the first was at the *Kyrie Eleison*, where the words, though in a strange tongue, were so familiar

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the four hymns which he wrote for the Archbishop of Metz; the hymn, "Nostri solemniss sæculi," and others. The four alluded to are mentioned in *Præfat. Notkeri ad Sequentias*.

<sup>2</sup> In Gerbert.

<sup>3</sup> *Solus sibi vacabat*, says Ekehardus. *Vita Notkeri*.

<sup>4</sup> *Præfat. Notkeri ad Sequentias*.

by repetition, for it is many times repeated between the Introit and the Gloria in Excelsis, that any one might say them; and the second place was at the *Alleluia*, which comes at the end of the Gradual, also a familiar word which every one knew. And this even more than the former was a favourite place for the people to attempt to sing.<sup>1</sup> Yet the runs on this word were so long and so florid, that many would-be singers went astray in their attempts, and there was much confusion in the churches, while the choir were singing the true *Alleluia* in the chancel, and the people in the nave were trying to follow in this favourite passage of the service.<sup>2</sup> And what made the confusion even greater than it might have been was this, that the choir themselves often departed from the set notes, and even extemporised as far as a choir can.<sup>3</sup> For let us consider how the *Alleluia* was sung, and we shall see that it was easy to do so here, which in other cases would be hard to do. For the *Alleluia* was sung with two long runs in it, the first on the syllable "le," and the next on the last syllable "a," which was particularly long, being extended at times till it seemed almost endless. In this way:—



Al - le - - - - - lui - a .....

Now how this might have been extemporised, and indeed most probably generally was, by the choir, was

<sup>1</sup> The story is told in the Bollandists, I. Ap. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Acta Sanctorum, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

this: The Precentor sat in the middle of the choir on the right hand side, and all attended to his motions. And he held a silver staff in his hand, to direct the music with.<sup>1</sup> And since there were no words to encumber the voices of the singers, but only the sustaining of a prearranged syllable, when he raised his staff on that syllable they would easily and naturally raise their voices too, and when he depressed it they would sink in like manner, using gradual ascents and descents, or proceeding in the easy lines of rise and fall, but too well known to singers trained in the Gregorian Song. In this way the Alleluias were often, as near as may be, extemporised by the choirs; but it is plain that however fresh and beautiful the tones may have mounted from the choristers, it was a constant source of confusion and bewilderment to the people, who would fain have followed every note, but yet were never able to do so.

And St. Notker, seeing this confusion, and wishing to remedy it, thought he might do so by applying his arts of hymn-writing to the Alleluias; and that as the hymn went note for syllable, so he would make the Alleluias run in the same manner, for that by setting words to those waverings and flexions of tone he would at least secure definiteness and certainty of tune, and preserve the melodies which the people loved, which every Sunday now saw different.<sup>2</sup> And selecting the most beautiful of the Alleluias, and those which were the greatest favourites with the people, he composed words to fit the tones, and to every note he set a syllable. In this way:—

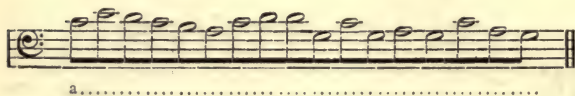
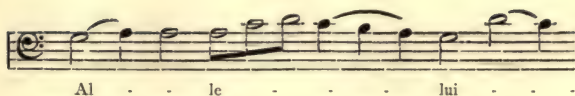
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<sup>1</sup> Ducange. *Art. Baculus cantoris.*

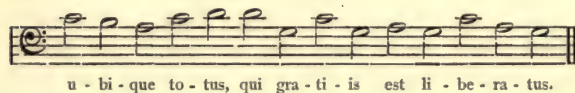
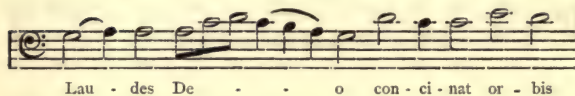
<sup>2</sup> Eckehardus. *Notk. Vita.*



## THE ORIGINAL ALLELUIA.



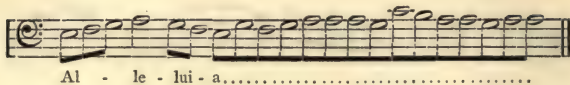
*With words composed to the notes.*



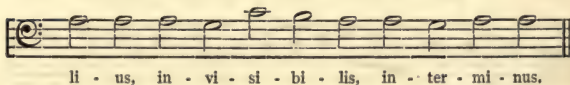
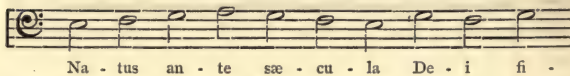
judging rightly that when words were added to the idle sound, the syllable and the tone would pair off together, and there would be little chance of change of music for the future. And this was the first Alleluia that he treated, and we shall see that the run on the first syllable is here left untouched; but let us take a later one, and we shall find that this too has received its syllables, and is in every respect conformed to the principle which he laid down himself for his guidance, and which he drew directly from the hymns, "*Singuli motus cantilenæ singulas syllabas habere debent*,"<sup>1</sup> "Each separate movement of the voice ought to have a separate syllable go with it."

<sup>1</sup> Præfat. Notkeri ad Sequentias.

ORIGINAL ALLELUIA.



*With words composed to the notes.*



In this way he preserved the beautiful strains of the service which the common people loved, so that every Sunday they heard them sung the same; and getting thus completely familiar with them, men would hum them or whistle them at their work,<sup>1</sup> and even the children would sing them about the streets.<sup>2</sup> And St. Notker would fain have set German words instead of Latin ones to the Alleluias, so that they might come home to the people still more. But this he was not able to do, because no other language than Latin was allowed to be used in the churches.<sup>3</sup> But after a time even this came, when his innovations had had time to ripen, and the clergy saw how popular they were.

Now these Nomes of Notker—for we might well call them so, reviving for a moment the ancient

<sup>1</sup> Eckehardus. Vita. ... <sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> That Notker however wrote at least one Sequence in the vernacular is certain. There seems no doubt about the genuineness of that one which has survived.

name which was applied to the tunes of the Greek Terpander, so like are these to those. For the task of Notker has not been unlike that of Terpander, who, to curb the excesses of lyre-playing, set words to the instrumental prelude, and to catch the fleeting tones of the rhapsodies taught men to sing a syllable at every note; and Notker also in the same way has used the same means to procure certainty of intonation in the Alleluias, and his inventions might well be called Nomes or "Laws of Sound," in a similar manner; but from the place in the service where they came, that is, following the Gradual, they were called Sequences, because they were the Gradual's Sequels. And in no long time these Sequences began to take the place of the old Alleluias in all churches, and many celebrated writers of Sequences arose, particularly in the monastery of St. Gall, where Ratpert,<sup>1</sup> Tutilo, Werembert,<sup>2</sup> and others, were famous writers of Sequences.

But first we must see how the Sequence had developed before this took place. For it had grown under his hands into an organised and independent musical form, getting its shape little by little from improvements he introduced as he perfected his ideas. And it had begun as we have seen with setting words to the Alleluia, and was at first one long straggling line, without metre or symmetry of any kind, accommodated to the free motions of the Gregorian Song, being indeed mere prose, whence the Sequences

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<sup>1</sup> The ascription of the origination of Sequences to Ratpert must remain a vexed question. Even Petrus and Romanus are credited with Sequences. But these are certainly spurious; and if Ratpert were the prime originator, to Notker none the less is the development due.

<sup>2</sup> Liber de Casibus St. Galli. in the Bollandists I. Apr. 3.

were indeed often called *Proses*. But in order to take away the unrhythmic effect of this, Notker began to set a second line of an equal number of syllables, that in the repetition, at least, some feeling of rhythm might be secured. And building on this beginning, he next composed a third line different to these, but he wrote a fourth line like the third. And adding more lines, he kept them always in pairs, writing the first of each pair in what number of syllables he chose, but the second was constructed on the model of the first. Thus,

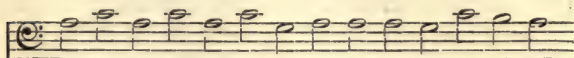
A SEQUENCE OF NOTKER'S.

- |   |                 |   |
|---|-----------------|---|
| { | 1.              | Per quem dies et horæ labant et se iterum recipocant,   |
|   | 2.              | Quem angeli in arce poli voce consona semper canunt,  |
| { | 3. <sup>1</sup> | Hic corpus assumpserat fragile  |
|   | 4.              | Sine labe originalis criminis de carne Mariæ virginis, quo<br>primi parentes culpam Evæque lasciviam tergeret.      |
| { | 5.              | Hoc præsens diecula loquitur  |
|   | 6.              | Præluçida, adaucta longitudine, quod sol verus radio sui<br>luminis ejus vetustas mundi depulerit genitus tenebras. |
| { | 7.              | Nec nox vacat novi sideris luce, quod magorum oculos<br>terrui nescios,   |
|   | 8.              | Nec gregum magistris defuit lumen, quos perstrinxit<br>claritas militum Dei.  |
| { | 9.              | Gaude, Dei genitrix, quam circumstant obstetricum vice<br>concinentes angeli gloriam Deo.                           |
|   | 10.             | Christe, patris unice, qui humanam nostri causa formam<br>assumpsisti, refove supplices tuos,                       |
| { | 11.             | Et quorum participes te fore dignatus es, Jesus, dignanter<br>eorum suscipe preces,                                 |
|   | 12.             | Ut ipsos divinitatis tuæ participes, deus, facere digneris,<br>unice dei.   |

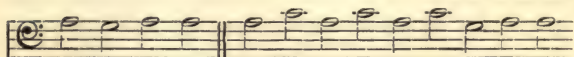
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<sup>1</sup> Irregular.

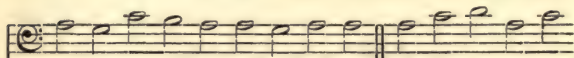
And the music was written agreeably to the lines, that is to say, a new strain for the first of every pair, and a repetition of it for the second, as we may see by examining the music to this Sequence, and we shall find that each new strain has its fellow.



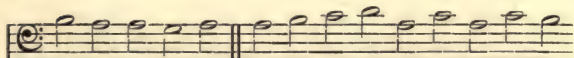
Per quem di - es et ho - ræ la - bant et se i - te - rum



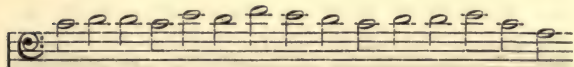
re - cip - ro - cant, Quem an - ge - li in ar - ce po - li



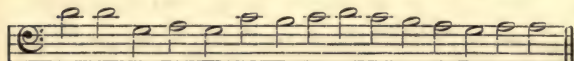
vo - ce con - so - na sem - per ca - nunt, Hic cor - pus as - sum -



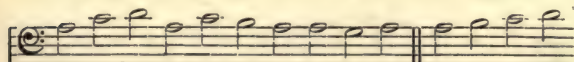
ps - e - rat fra - gile Si - ne la - be or - i - gi - na - lis



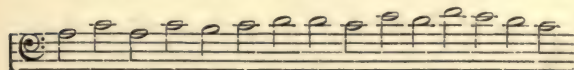
cri - mi - nis de car - ne Ma - ri - æ vir - gi - nis, quo pri - mi



pa - ren - tis cul - pam E - væ - que las - ci - vi - am ter - ge - ret.

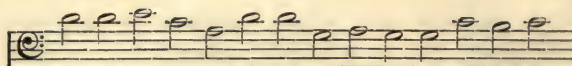


Hoc præ - sens di - e - cu - la lo - qui - tur Præ - lu - ci - da

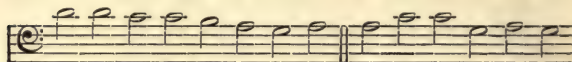


ad - auc - ta lon - gi - tu - di - ne, quod sol - ve - rus ra - di - o

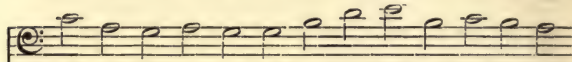




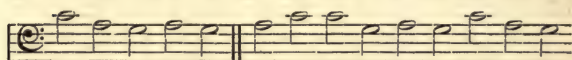
su - i lu - mi - nis e - jus ve - tus - tas mun - di de - pu -



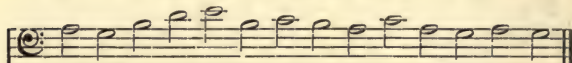
le - rit ge - ni - tus te - neb - ras. Nec nox va - cat no - vi



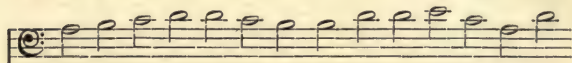
si - de - ris lu - ce, quod ma - go - rum oc - u - los ter -



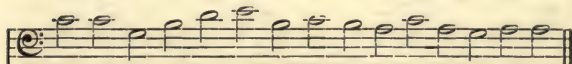
ru - it ne - sci - os, Nec gre - gum ma - gis - tris de - fu - it



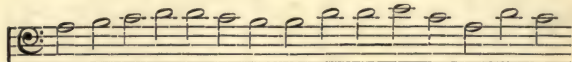
lu - men, quos per - strin - xit cla - ri - tas mi - li - tum De - i.



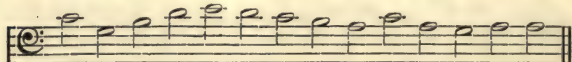
Gau - de, De - i ge - ne - trix, quam cir - cum - stant ob - ste - tri -



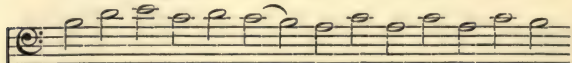
cum vi - ce con - ci - nen - tes an - ge - li glo - ri - am De - o.



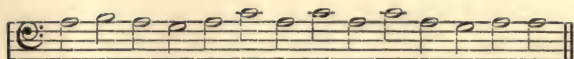
Chri - ste, pa - tris u - ni - ce, qui hu - ma - nam no - stri cau - sa



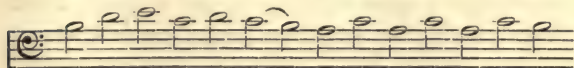
for - mam as - sump - sis - ti, re - fo - ve sup - pli - ces tu - os.



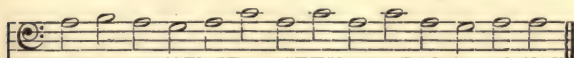
Et quo - rum par - ti - ci - pes te fo - re di - gna - tus



es, Je - sus, dig-nan-ter e - o - rum sus - ci - pe pre - ces,



Ut ip - sos di - vi - ni - ta - tis tu - æ par - ti - ci -



pes, de - us, fa - ce - re di - gne - ris, u - ni - ce de - i.

And Notker caused these pairs of lines to be taken one by each side of the choir, so that his Sequences were sung antiphonally, like the Psalms were. And in this perfect form, such as we have written it here, did the Sequence go forth into the churches of Europe, as we have said; and Sequence writers arose, eminently those of the monastery of St. Gall, whose names we have before given.

And it is plain that in the Sequence Notker had introduced a new Form into the Music of the Time. And we may easily see from what that form proceeded, for it was a cross or compromise between the Classical and the Christian elements of the Art, between the Hymn and the Chant. And in its tying up of separate notes to separate syllables, it shows its descent from the Hymn, and also in the straining after rhythm, which led to the syllables being ordered with as great care in every other line, as we found them treated when we were speaking of the Strophes of the Greeks. But in the freeness of the open lines, which indeed is insensibly communicated to the whole piece as it strikes the ear, we may see repeated the free and arrhythmic character of the genuine Christian Song, which also the

antiphonal singing of the Sequence most strongly bears out.

Simple as the Form may appear to us, it was nevertheless a great discovery in the darkened Middle Ages. Before the Sequences began, we look in vain for any musical form outside the shapeless graduals and antiphons, which offer so vague an outline, that all form seems lost in them. But with the Sequences a flexible and elastic shape had appeared, built of so many members, rounded in such a way, that seemed to invite of itself to music-making, and the importance of its influence cannot be over-estimated. The Classical principle of note for syllable was kept with even greater strictness than in the Hymns themselves, for in some of the Hymns this had become perverted or forgotten, but in the Sequences never. While in the free expansion of the complete piece, what scope for beautiful refrains, and for invention to assert itself, which the narrow margin of the Hymn might have hampered and kept under! So that perhaps it was better that the Hymn should begin to exert its influence on Music rather through the Sequence at first, than in its own proper form, among people accustomed to the wilful freedom of the Gregorian Song.

And St. Notker continued to write many Sequences, wandering about in the forests near the monastery, and composing his beautiful melodies under the trees.<sup>1</sup> And the people loved his music more than anything they had ever heard before, it was so melodious and tender. And let us see how he had made his way so much in the affections of the people, for it was by the simplicity of his thoughts, and by the sympathy

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<sup>1</sup> Eckenhardus, Vita Notkeri.

he felt for them, which all his music showed. One day walking by a mill stream he heard the mill-wheel going, and because the water was very low, and the wheel was turning very slowly, there was not that monotonous roar, which is generally heard from mill-wheels, but a soft and subdued sound, which seemed to Notker to resolve itself into certain musical notes.<sup>1</sup> And taking these notes as his theme, he wrote a sequence on the Mill-wheel, and this is the burden of it,



which is repeated again and again throughout the Sequence, as if the mill-wheel were turning and singing all the while. And the name of this Sequence is "*Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*," which became very popular with the people. And at another time, when he was wandering near the brow of a precipice, looking over he saw a thin and fragile bridge, which ran like some little thread over the chasm to the mountain opposite, and it had been built for the poor peasants to carry their wares over to market.<sup>2</sup> And Notker, reflecting on the dangers which the poor had to undergo, and how every day they risked their lives to pass it, composed the Sequence of the Bridge, which begins with these words, "In the midst of life we are in death," "*Media vita in morte sumus*," "What helper shall we seek but only Thee, O Lord!"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Erat molendinum juxta vicinum &c., quod quosdam dabit quodammodo vocum sonos : quod audiens homo Deo dignus statim fuit in spiritu &c. Ib.

<sup>2</sup> Ekehardus. Vita Notkeri.

<sup>a</sup> This sequence was afterwards sung all over Europe as the funeral dirge.





rope passing over it, but by a piece of wood, fixed at right angles to the stock of the bell, to which the rope was attached.<sup>1</sup> By this leverage, then, was the bell worked, and the bell ropes had brass or silver rings at the end for the ringers to hold them by.<sup>2</sup> And in a peal of six bells, 720 changes may be rung; but the art of change-ringing belongs to more recent times, and particularly to English bell ringers;<sup>3</sup> and abroad, and indeed all through Europe in those ancient times, they were contented with simple chimes, whose excellent monotony may well be held to surpass the variety of manifold changes, which often are confusing to the ear. And many of the monasteries had silver bells, and what melodious music must they have made! Six silver bells were common in the German monasteries,<sup>4</sup> and at a monastery at Bologna there were three silver bells, that made celestial ringing.<sup>5</sup> Such simple chimes then as these, we must imagine, if we would hear those bells again:—



<sup>1</sup> Authorities are silent on the subject, but discoveries in ancient belfries have elicited the information.

<sup>2</sup> Ducange in voc.

<sup>3</sup> I have never heard change-ringing anywhere but in England.

<sup>4</sup> Kircher. *Musurgia Universalis*. VI.

<sup>5</sup> Kircher. *Musurgia Universalis*. VI.

And yet the ordinary bells were not made of any such costly substances as these, but of the common bell metal which we use at present, which is made of two parts of copper to one of tin. And by the time we write of, this composition of metals was known all over Europe,<sup>1</sup> in more ancient times bells being made of iron,<sup>2</sup> as all the old square bells were made. And the iron was coated with bronze, either for the sake of the appearance, or to sweeten the tone.<sup>3</sup> But yet must the tone have been at the best very grating and harsh of these iron bells, which the square shape would not conduce to improve. But with the discovery of the true bell metal, which how or when it was discovered we do not know, the round shape began to supersede the square, till at last all bells were made in that pattern. And this is the way the bells were cast, for I imagine that, as in pottery and other homely arts of life the method of working to-day differs but little from the original one of earlier times, since there are many things in the world, where improvements and novelty soon become impossible.<sup>4</sup> The metals were fused in a large cauldron over a wood fire, whereby a far more perfect fusion was obtained than we get nowadays by the use of coal, for coal is too hot and sublimates the tin, which is the life of the bell, and ought never to be sublimated. And in bell-founding the great secret is to know when to put the tin into the cauldron, for it is cast in some time after the copper,

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<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the 8th century may be set down as the era.

<sup>2</sup> Prætorius. *Syntagma Musicum*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>4</sup> Conjecture can be one's only guide in such a matter, since the humble field of invention and discoveries is as a rule almost ignored by annalists.

and this secret men seem to have known in these early ages better than we do now. Now to the cauldron in which the metals were fusing, there was a sluice attached, which communicated with a mould, where the shape of the bell was moulded. And the mould was built in this way: There was first an inner mould or core, built of brickwork, having its inside hollow for a fire to be lighted in it. The face of this was then covered with clay, which was moulded into the shape of the inside of the bell, and though this moulding may have been done by hand, yet most probably even at this early period the crook was invented, which is a pair of large wooden compasses, with one of the legs curved into the shape of the inside of the bell, and the other leg into the shape of the outside, and, like the potter's wheel for pottery, may have been used for bell-founding from the first commencement of the art. And one of the legs of this crook was made to play round the clay, which thus received the shape of the inner side of the bell. And after the clay was burnt hard by the fire in the inside of the core, a perishable composition was washed over it to the thickness required for the bell. And over this, when it was dry, another clay coating was placed, and worked into shape by the play of the crook as before, but this time into the shape of the outside of the bell. Then the fire in the core was lighted again, which destroyed the perishable composition between the two clay slabs, and baked the outer one hard, as it had before baked the inner one. Now the outer one was called the Cope of the Bell, and on the top of it the crown, or head, was fixed; and all this lay in a pit close to the furnace and the cauldron, and it was tightly rammed down all round

with dry sand. Meanwhile the metals were fusing in the cauldron, and the master-smith stood by, ready to draw the sluice at the exact moment when the fusion was complete, which only he knew, having learnt it by long experience. For the knowledge when to tap the metal, was the great secret in bell-founding, and was jealously kept by the guilds of coppersmiths in the middle ages, not to be known by any but a master workman. And it was at this point in the ceremony that the blessing of the bell took place,<sup>1</sup> its baptism following after when the founding was complete. While the metals were fusing, I say, and just before the sluice was drawn, the priest appeared, attended by a large number of the people. And the priest was robed in his surplice and stole, and a cross was held before him. And stretching out his hand, he blessed the bell in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Then the *Te Deum* and the *Da Pacem* were sung,<sup>2</sup> and everything being ready the master-smith drew the sluice, and immediately the molten liquor rushed gurgling into the mould. And there it was allowed to harden for a day or two, and then the mould was broken, and the beautiful bell exposed to view. And the people came to gaze on it, and the ceremony of its baptism was publicly performed. And wealthy people of the district stood godfathers and godmothers, and the great bell was arrayed in an embroidered robe.<sup>3</sup> And all having met, the priest began: "This is the work which the Lord hath made." *Response.* "And it is marvellous

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<sup>1</sup> This service is to be found in the Processionale in Usam Sar.

<sup>2</sup> Processionale cit.

<sup>3</sup> Some writers have specified the texture and make of these garments.

in our eyes." Then lifting up his hands he said the prayer of consecration, that where this bell hangs, the attacks of enemies may be brought to nought, the malice of ghosts, the incursion of whirlwinds, the stroke of the thunderbolts, the flame of lightning, and the assault of tempests. Then the psalm, "Praise the Lord, O my soul," was sung by the congregation. Then the priest washed the bell with holy water, oil, and salt, and prayed that where its melody sounds, the hearts of those who heard it might increase in faith and holiness. Then turning to the Bell he said, "Strike down the powers of the air by the right arm of thy power! vanquish the assaults of Satan! and protect all those who are within hearing of thy chime!" Then he wiped it with a towel, and the Psalm, "*Vox Domini super aquas*," was sung. Then he touched it with the chrism seven times, and prayed for the Divine grace to be infused into it. Then the holy water was sprinkled over it, and also over the whole congregation, and it was named by the godfathers and godmothers; and the priest, with his hand on the bell, and signing the sign of the cross, named it too. The great bell, Guthlac, of the monastery of Croyland, had the Abbot Turketul for its godfather, and the peal of six bells which was set up by his successor, Egelric, were called respectively, Bettelin, Turketul, Bartholomew, Tatwine, Pega, and Begu. Another great bell that we know of was called John, after the pope of that name. And other names we could give of bells, which have descended to us by tradition. And strange stories are told of these bells of the Middle Ages. It was said that they could ring of themselves, without the intervention of mortal hand. They were thought to leave the belfries at certain seasons, and float like



clouds through the air, ringing all the while, to the amazement of those that heard them. Once a year in Holy Week all the bells in Europe were believed to go to Rome to confess, and so from Maunday Thursday till Easter Eve the belfries were always shut, and the doors secured with bolt and bar, that no one might look into the empty place, for fear the bell might never return. Some in these airy voyages sank tired into lakes and rivers, from whence they rose like bubbles, ready after a while to soar again back to the monastery where their belfry was. On the sounds of bells did the souls of the faithful float to heaven, cushioned on that buoyant harmony, which daily with distant echoes was thought to reach the celestial courts.

Also since in storms, and most of all at the height of them, the bells were often heard ringing in the belfries, then when the lull came, after the height of the storm was over, the people thought it was the voice of the bell which had commanded the elements to cease, and many superstitions arose in consequence. It was no hard matter to believe that the bell had lifted its voice of its own accord, and bid the storm be still. And from controlling the tempests, and breaking the thunderbolt, they were conceived to have a general power over the weather, so that when the people wished to have a good harvest, they would assemble round the monasteries and the churches, and beg that the bells might be rung to benefit the crops,<sup>1</sup> and when a rich harvest came they would bless the bells that brought it. And the bell reared in the moss-grown belfry, and lord of the powers of the air,

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<sup>1</sup> Campanos pulsari pro fructibus terræ, &c., præcipiunt Stat. Synod Eccles. Carcass.

was a sort of *palladium* to the village, which kept all harm away from those within hearing of its toll; even plagues and distempers its ringing could clear the air of.<sup>1</sup> And this was the reason that the clergy, when they went to visit the sick, would always have one with a hand-bell to walk before them, to cleanse the air, perhaps, or fortify the spirits of the people, who thought it would.<sup>2</sup> But the clergy themselves were not without their weakness and belief in the magic power of bells; and for this reason they were wont to cover their copes and tunicles with legions of little bells,<sup>3</sup> in order to spread the magic virtue over their persons, for there was something peculiarly "canny" in their "tinkling"—the "*tinnitus*" was "*salutifer*," says the monkish biographer of St. Hilary of Arles.

Now if we would complete our knowledge of the superstitions connected with the bells, and of the virtues that were supposed to reside in them, we must turn in conclusion to the Legends of the Bells, in which their powers are briefly and succinctly stated. For when a bell was cast, on that perishable composition which was washed over the inner mould, and over which the cope, or outer mould was formed, letters were traced, which were the letters of the legend, and these imprinting themselves on the inside of the cope, then when the bell was cast would appear embossed on the outside of the bell. And some of these legends are merely historical, and relate to the donor of the bell, or the year it was cast in,

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<sup>1</sup> Agreeably to the common bell legend, "*pestem fugo*" &c.

<sup>2</sup> "*Campanulam pulsabat clericus præeundo rectori ecclesiæ infirmos visitanti.*" Ducange. *Art. Campanula*.

<sup>3</sup> "*Undique in capa tintinnabula . . . . . pendent.* Ducange in *voc*.

but others are the true bell legend, which describe the powers and virtues of the bell itself. And one is,

*Funero plango, fulgura frango, Sabbata pango,  
Excito lentos, dissipo ventos, paco cruentos.*

"Men's death I tell	The sleepy head
By doleful knell.	I raise from bed.
Lightning and thunder	The winds so fierce
I break asunder.	I do disperse.
On Sabbath all	Men's cruel rage
To church I call.	I do assuage."

And another,

*Laudo deum verum, plebem voco, convoco clerum,  
Defunctos ploro, pestem fugo, festa decoro.*

"I praise the true God,	I call the people,
I assembly the clergy,	I mourn the dead,
I drive away diseases,	I am the adornment of festivals."

And others say,

*Vox mea sublimis depellit nubeculam, &c.*

"My voice on high dispels the storm.  
This power has Nature herself bestowed on me."<sup>1</sup>

Or,

"I ring out the bad, I ring in the good."

Or,

"Ave Maria is my name,  
All storms I drive away."

And this last was placed on the bell that rang the Angelus, at hearing which, every one, no matter what he might be engaged in, or where he might be, must sign the sign of the cross, and repeat three

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<sup>1</sup> Hoc mihi nature vis genuina dedit.

times the *Ave Maria*, which is the Angelic Salutation the Angel made to the Blessed Virgin Mary. And this bell was supposed in a miraculous manner to shed the influence of the Blessed Virgin on all who heard it, and it was the most sweet-toned of all the bells in the belfry, and was often made of silver. And sometimes the whole *Ave Maria* was inscribed on it for a legend, and sometimes this beautiful legend,

*Sum Rosa pulsata mundique Maria vocata.*

"I that am beaten am the rose of the world, and am called Mary."

And of a similar character was the Saunce bell, which was rung at that part of the Mass where the priest begins the *Sanctus*, that all might know what holy mysteries were proceeding, and if they list might fall on their knees in reverence for the ceremony. And this bell was generally placed in a lantern in the springing of a steeple, that it might be heard far off. And its legend was some appropriate one as, "*Vox ego sum vitæ*," "I am the Voice of Life," for it also was supposed to have a holy and purifying influence on those who heard it, though not to such a degree as the Angelus.

Now these are the bells that hung in the belfries, and some of the powers and virtues attributed to them. But in every monastery there were many more. For there were small bells placed in various parts of the monastery, which were rung at stated intervals throughout the day, to summon the monks from their avocations, or bid them begin a new one. So nicely toned too were these bells, and varied from each other, that to hear them was quite sufficient to know which bell it was that was ringing. And in

the refectory was the *Squilla*,<sup>1</sup> which was a small shrill bell, on hearing which, the monks assembled in the refectory, which they did for the first time after Tierce, having previously confessed in the Chapter. And to summon them to the cloisters, where they went after Prime was over to hear the singing practice of the boys, there was the "*Cymbalum*,"<sup>2</sup> which was a loud clashing bell as its name imports. And at other times in the day the *Cymbalum* was also rung, as after Sext, when they sat in silence in the cloisters, and at other times. Then there was the *Nola*, for the choir,<sup>3</sup> and the *Nolula*,<sup>4</sup> and the *Campana*<sup>5</sup>—these were the bells in the belfries—and the *Signum*,<sup>6</sup> being six kinds of bells in all, that were used in monasteries for various purposes throughout the day. And at the ringing of the *Nola*, the choir boys and novices would assemble in the choir under the superintendence of their master to practise singing, or in the Song School, which probably existed in most monasteries, and certainly in the monastery of St. Gall. This was a school where they were taught to sing and play the organ, and it was built within the Chapel itself, probably in a recess of the transept or in the chancel, as the Lady Chapel was. There were desks in it from one end to the other, and it was neatly wainscotted two yards high. The floor was boarded for warmth, and round about it long forms were fastened for the boys to sit on.<sup>7</sup> This was the School

<sup>1</sup> *Squilla* in triclinio.

<sup>2</sup> *Cymbalum* in clauetro.

<sup>3</sup> *Nola* in choro.

<sup>4</sup> *Nolula*, seu dupla.

<sup>5</sup> *Campana* in campanili.

<sup>6</sup> The names of these various bells and their uses are given in Durandus' *Rationale* Div. I. 6.

<sup>7</sup> A good description of the Song Schools in Monasteries is given in Fosbrooke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquity*.



in which Notker taught, being the Master of the Song School during his life at St. Gall, having in his turn been a pupil there under the celebrated master Ratpert, who was most learned in the classical style of song, and so successful a master, that forty priests from various parts of Europe came to St. Gall, when they heard he was dying, asking him to give his blessing to his old pupils.<sup>1</sup> It was to Ratpert that St. Notker owed many of those ideas, which we have seen him before developing. Some say that it was even to Ratpert that the introduction of note for syllable in the Sequences was due,<sup>2</sup> and that Notker at first showed him sequences, which had runs of notes in them, and were altogether too free in their treatment, and that Ratpert had improved them for him, and had even been angry with him, treating him with sternness, until he should have realised the sequence as Ratpert desired it.<sup>3</sup> And the genealogy of the Masters of the Song School at St. Gall was this—for they dated back to Romanus himself: There was first Romanus; and after him came Werembert, a scholar of Rabanus Maurus, who succeeded him. This was till A.D. 840.<sup>4</sup> From A.D. 840 to 865, Iso, a celebrated master, under whom the school grew to such fame, that strangers from all parts flocked to St. Gall to learn music there.<sup>5</sup> And Iso was compelled to divide the school into two parts, in one of which the novices and boys of the monastery itself were educated, and to the other the numerous

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<sup>1</sup> Lib. de Casibus Sanct. Gall.

<sup>2</sup> The Sequences of Ratpert, however, have many runs of notes in them, as may be easily proved by examination.

<sup>3</sup> Eckehardus. Vita Notkeri.

<sup>4</sup> Liber de Casibus.

<sup>5</sup> Ib.

strangers were admitted, who came to the monastery for instruction. And he brought a celebrated master of singing from Rome, Marcellus, to whom he committed the instruction of the boys and novices, receiving the strangers from distant parts himself.<sup>1</sup> And these two shared the school between them. This was in the time of the famous abbot, Grimaldus.<sup>2</sup> And next after Iso and Marcellus, Ratpert succeeded. And he was so diligent in his instructions, that the story went he had but one pair of shoes a year,<sup>3</sup> so little did he use his feet, scarcely ever stirring out of his school in the monastery. And the most famous scholars of Ratpert were Notker and Tutilo, Hartmann, Waltram, and Salomon.<sup>4</sup> But the first two were ever his favourite pupils, and in character they were as opposite as night to day. Notker was the reserved and gentle scholar, but Tutilo was a bold and dashing spirit, almost a swash-buckler monk, who could cross a blade, or even set a lance against any man. And Ratpert loved them both exceedingly, but Notker most. And to Tutilo he has constantly some sage advice, or even kind reproof to give, and we can see that he is often troubled at the doings of his brilliant pupil. But to Notker it is always, "*Sed tu, Notkere care, quia tu timidulus es.*"

And the character of Tutilo is well shown in his music. What gaiety of melody shines in the Sequences of Tutilo! and, even more than in his Sequences, in his *Kyrie Eleisons*! which, far from being a sad prayer for mercy, pass with him into a joyous rush of happy tones, so joyous and gay is his spirit.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. de Casibus Sancti Galli.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. Cap. I.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.

*Quickly.*

Cunc - ti - po - tens ge - ni - tor, de - us, om -

ni - cre - a - tor, e - - - lei - son,

Ky - ri - e.....

..... e - - - lei - son.

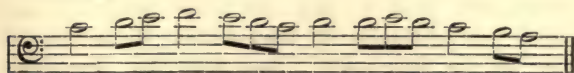
This is a *Kyrie Eleison* of Tutilo's, and how does it contrast with much of the music of the time, and even with the sadness and sentiment of Notker's muse! There is a round and clear form about it also, and looking at it we may see how well the Sequence was doing its work, and behind it the Hymn, setting form and shape on what was vague before. And even more than the clearness of form, the note accompanying the syllable betrays the influence of the Sequence; and had this piece been written before the influence of that form began, it would have been the chaos of wild runs and phrases, which we found in Gregorian music.

Yet not all men were so happy as Tutilo; for there was little cause to make them so. Secluded in the walls of their monasteries, the monks passed peaceful and tranquil lives; but outside, storms were blowing. The people, unwilling slaves to oppressive masters, the country, plunged in perpetual discord from the turbulence of the barons; weak kings, who could not control their subjects; and lawlessness and

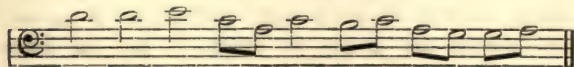
rapine everywhere—such was the state of the times. And now to add to the general disorders, the Hungarians began their ravages in Germany, and the Norsemen in France, as the Lombards in Italy a century back. But worst of all were the Hungarians. They came riding on horses in troops through the villages, burning down houses, and destroying the crops. And the people fled in terror at their approach, for their very appearance was revolting, and there were horrid stories about, that they lived like wild beasts, and ate human flesh. Such terror did they inspire, that whole villages were deserted at their coming. And the ravages of the Hungarians extended throughout the length and breadth of Germany as far as the river Rhine itself. And when the Hungarians had gone for a time, the barons would come out and plunder the people, so as to make good any losses they had sustained, by pillaging and plundering them. In this sad case the people fell into despair, for the only protectors they had were the clergy and the monks, who could not render them much assistance, beyond praying with them and comforting them.

And now Notker died, and was buried in the chapel of the monastery of St. Gall. And it was the beginning of the 10th century, in which strange things were thought. For the troubles and trials which the people had daily to endure, made them remember an old prophecy, which said that the world should come to an end in the 1,000th year after Christ's birth. And there were to be wars and rumours of wars, and famines, and pestilences, and prodigies in the heavens, and other fearful signs—and many of these things had already come. And plagues and famines appeared in various parts of Europe, for

the fields were burnt up and destroyed, and there was no bread to eat, and the people died of hunger and disease. And in order to propitiate the Divine wrath, the people would assemble at the church doors, and go in procession through the streets of the villages, or over the barren fields, chanting Litanies, with the clergy at their head, the clergy intoning the supplication, and the people answering, "*Kyrie Eleison*"; but no longer those happy Kyries of Tutilo, but sad mournful strains, that were moanings rather than singing. And at the head of the procession there were hair-cloth standards, and the deacons in their white amices followed, carrying the relics of saints wrapped in a silken pall, and then came the people, two by two, sometimes with lighted candles in their hands. And meantime the bells of the churches were tolling, and the women at the cottage doors were wringing their hands as the procession passed. And there were other litanies than these, that is to say, heroic ones. For when the monasteries were attacked by the invader, the monks would sometimes sally out to meet him, but not with arms of flesh, but preceded by the abbot in his rochet and alb, and the other dignitaries of the monastery, dressed as if for a festival, with their hoods on and beating of bells, they would issue forth from the gates of the monastery, intoning with strong clear voices the hymn of St. Fortunatus:—

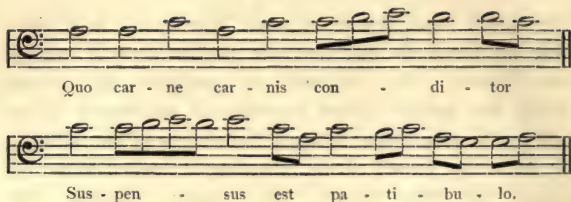


Vex - il - la re - gis pro - de - unt,



Ful - get cru - cis my - ste - ri - um,





And often the invader, at the sight of this company of fearless men, would retire awestruck from his work of pillage.

Now Litanies, such as we have described, were of long standing in the church, and used in seasons of trial and distress, and always on Rogation Days which were days of humiliation before God. And they had been instituted by Mamercus, bishop of Vienne in the south of France, during a season of drought and famine. And he had instituted them in this way: The bells were all rung, and the choir were to assemble in the chancel, and the people in the nave. After other bells were sounded, the procession commenced. Three crosses were carried in front, and two banners with each cross. The bearers were to have albs on, and have their feet bare, and those who walked in the procession must carry staves in their hands. The clergy were clothed in their vestments, and copes of red silk. In this way they all walked in the procession. And there were Stations pre-arranged, where they were to stop and offer prayers; and these were generally at Oratories, or at churches, if any lay on their route. Such were the processions that were held at Vienne to avert the drought and famine, and at Verdun to avert the attacks of wolves, and during the plague at Rheims; and at other places. And the supplications put up by the priests

were generally answered with "*Kyrie Eleison*" by the people,

Pro civitate hac et conventu ejus omnibus habitantibus.

*Resp.* Kyrie Eleison.

Pro aëris temperie et fructu et fœcunditate terrarum.

*Resp.* Kyrie Eleison.

But not always, for sometimes other forms were used as replies, as,

Parce nobis, Domine.

Libera nos, Domine.

Te Rogamus audi nos.

Rogamus.

Miserere nobis.

with other forms. But none were so common as *Kyrie Eleison*.

And the gentle Notker would fain have made an art even of Litanies. And he wrote supplications in Elegiac verse, to which he set most sweet *Kyrie Eleisons*.

*"Votis supplicibus voces super astra feramus,*

*Trinus ut et supplex nos regat omnipotens,*

*Kyrie Eleison."*

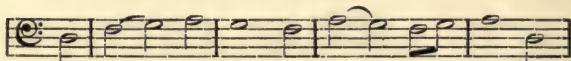
But such things were the toys of tranquillity and peace, and not fitted for sterner times, when misery and distress of every kind hovered in the air, and a universal gloom oppressed men's minds, in which the music of the time, no less than other things, shares its part.

For such music as was written in this age barren of art and prolific in nothing but despondency and fear, is sad and dismal in its strains, and in the language

<sup>1</sup> Marterre. III.

that accompanies it there is not even an attempt at a poetical thought. The composers seem unable to weave a melody amidst the gloomy apprehensions of the time, or the poets to rise even for a moment above the region of prose. For far more strongly than we can ever imagine was that dreadful event expected, that the world was soon to end, till at last it became a horrid nightmare, that weighed down the minds of all.

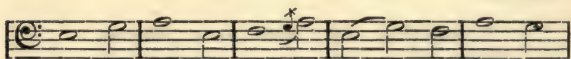
An exception to the universal depression of musical art is the so-called Song of Gotteschalk,<sup>1</sup>



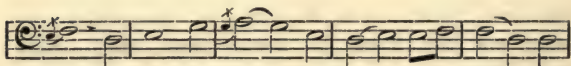
O quid ju - bes, pu - si - o - le, Qua -



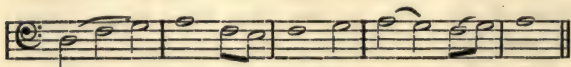
re..... man - das, fi - li - o - le,



Car - men dul - ce me can - ta - re, cum sim



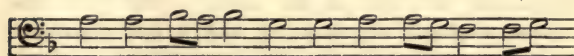
lon - ge ex - ul val - de In - tra ma - re?



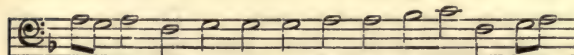
O - cur ju - bes, pu - si - o - le?

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale. MS. 1154. This composition, supposed to be written by Gotteschalk during his exile, must obviously from its texture be referred to a much later date than his.

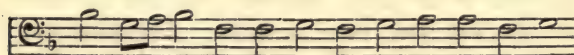
And yet how sad it sounds! But take the following, and we shall see how gloomy is the music,<sup>1</sup>



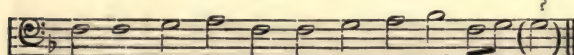
Mag - nus Cæ - sar Ot - to, quem hic mo - dus



re - fert in no - mi - ne Ot - tinc dic - tus, qua - dam



noc - te, mem - bra su - a dum col - lo - cat Pa - la -



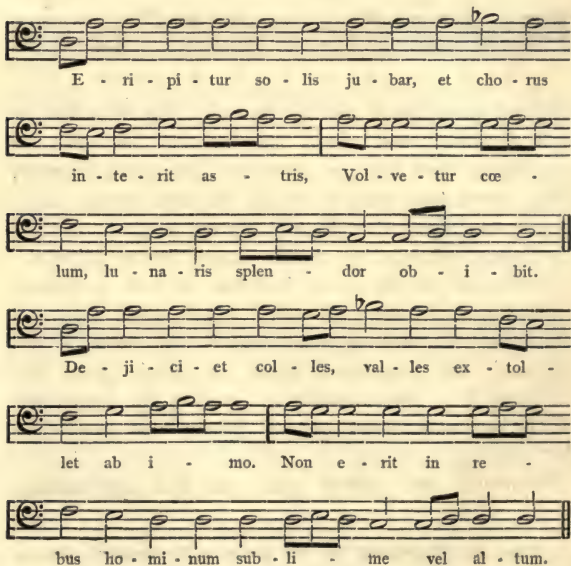
ti - o, ca - su su - bi - to in - flam - ma - tur.

And yet more prosy are the words. For who but in such dreadful times would have lacked the spirit to soar higher than this for poetry?—"The great emperor, Otho, whom this song is about, the tune being called Ottinc, one night when he laid himself down to rest in the Palace, suddenly his clothes caught fire by accident." And the rest of the poem is taken up with a minute description of the disaster. And this piece is interesting, as showing how entirely the form of the Sequence had impressed itself on Music now, but otherwise it is only valuable as showing the depression of our art amidst the general gloom that enveloped the world.

Meanwhile the 1,000th year was fast approaching.

<sup>1</sup> From the Wolfenbützel MS. first printed in Coussemaker's *Histoire de l'Harmonie*. But his translation of the neumes leaves very much to be desired. The present writer has therefore attempted a new one.

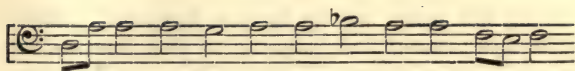
There were but a few more years to run, before it should arrive. And the voice of the Sibyl was heard proclaiming the end of the world. This was the ancient prophecy we spoke of, and it had descended from the remotest times, passed on from generation to generation by tradition, but never heeded till the awful time was at last at hand. "The Judge shall give the sign," it ran, "The earth shall sweat with fear. The stars shall be rent into threads, and the splendour of the moon shall fail. He will cast down the hills, and dash them in pieces. Everything shall come to an end. The earth itself shall perish." And this was the horrid dirge :<sup>1</sup>—



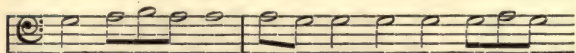
E - ri - pi - tur so - lis ju - bar, et cho - rus  
 in - te - rit as - tris, Vol - ve - tur cœ -  
 lum, lu - na - ris splen - dor ob - i - bit.  
 De - ji - ci - et col - les, val - les ex - tol -  
 let ab i - mo. Non e - rit in re -  
 bus ho - mi - num sub - li - me vel al - tum.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris). MSS. 2832.

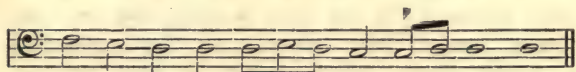




Jam æ - quan - tur cam - pis mon - tes, et cœ - ru -



la pon - ti Om - ni - a ces - sa -

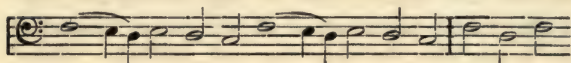


bunt, tel - lus con - frac - ta pe - ri - bit.

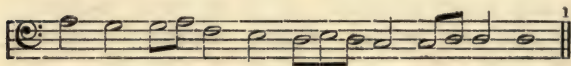
And the signs which should betoken the dreadful event were seen on every side. For faith was to fail, and battles and tumults to rage, and there were to be eclipses of the sun, and noises in the air, and all these things had come. And not only was there to be misery and distress throughout the world, but vice and impiety were to reign triumphant; and in the fearful licentiousness of the popes themselves the people saw the signs too well fulfilled. Under John XII., Rome had become Babylon once more. Seated amid prostitutes he would barter bishoprics for sale, and he had ordained cardinals in stables. He drank wine "to the love of the devil," and while gaming he would call on Jupiter, Venus, and other demons for aid. Female pilgrims could no longer visit Rome, for fear of becoming the victims of his violence. And those who followed him in the papacy, and those who had preceded him, were little less impious than he.

At last the year 1,000 began. And many in their terror fled to dens and caves in the rocks, while thousands flocked to Palestine, as hoping that there would be a shelter from God's wrath. Agriculture was neglected, and building was even suspended. There

was no will made, and no business transacted. Many gave their estates and property to the churches, as having no longer any use for them. And others plunged into reckless living, rioting and feasting in very despair, or affecting to disbelieve the event; while crowds of fanatics paraded the streets, dressed in black and with dishevelled hair. And some would throw themselves in the dust, howling, and cry out, "Mercy, mercy! Peace, peace!" Or they would join in fearful chants, which seemed to exult in the impending doom. "*Audi tellus*," "Hear! O earth! Hear, thou pit of ocean! the last day is at hand!" "*Bene fundata terra*," "The well-founded earth shall shake and stagger. Towns and castles shall perish. The rivers will be dried up; the sea will be dry. Chaos will yawn, and Hell gape asunder." And then came the fearful refrain, that sounded like a knell,



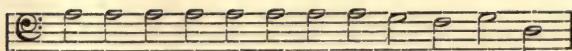
Heu!..... mi - se - ri, Heu!..... mi - se - ri. Quid ho - mo



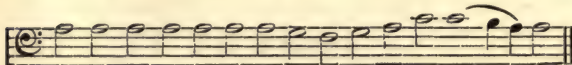
in - ep - tam se - que - ris..... læ - ti - ti - am.

"*Fraus, dolus, et cupido*," "The impious prevail, and the wicked hold sway. Virtue is neglected, and saintliness displeases." And those who met them turned aside in horror, and people closed their doors as they passed. And the banqueters in the gay chambers shuddered and grew pale, as they heard the awful chant surging up through their windows from the street.

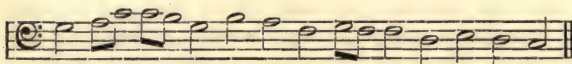
<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque de Montpellier, MS.



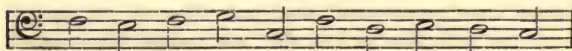
Au - di tel - lus, au - di mag - ni ma - ris lim - bus,



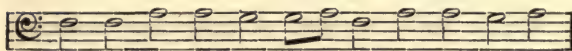
Au - di ho - mo, au - di om - ne quod vi - vit sub so - le,



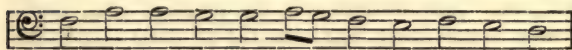
Ve - ni - et pro - pe ? di - es i - ræ su - pre - mæ,



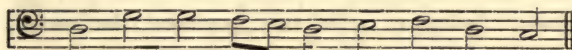
di - es in - vi - sa, di - es a - ma - ra,



qua cæ - lum fu - gi - et, sol e - ru - bes - cet,



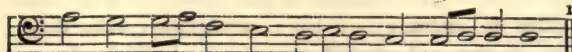
lu - na mu - ta - bi - tur, di - es ni - gres - cet,



si - de - ra su - pra ter - ram ca - dent.



Heu !... .. mi - se - ri, Heu !..... mi - se - ri, Quid ho - mo,



in - ep - tam se - que - ris..... læ - ti - ti - am !

## CHAPTER II.

But the 1,000th year came to an end, and brought no Judgment Day; and the world, disabused of its terrors, began to laugh. The prophets and fanatics could scarce raise their head under the flood of ridicule and merriment that was heaped on them; even the religious orders did not escape their share of contempt, many of whom had lent themselves to the propagation of the opinion, which had turned out so silly a fear. A spirit of levity and almost of ribaldry seemed to infect all classes alike. And the Feast of Asses, the Pope of Fools, the Boy Bishop, and other such travesties of the religious rites, are a witness to the feelings that animated all, down even to the clergy themselves. There was gaiety too and blitheness now, and men seemed to forget their troubles in the general feeling of relief that possessed the world. And the peasants might be seen dancing and singing in the fields, and the church itself became secularised, and its *Kyrie Eleisons* began to pass into Carols, and its Hymns and Sequences into Popular Tunes. And this is the way that the *Kyrie Eleisons* passed into Carols: the words of the petitions were first written in metre, as we have seen Notker write them, and at the end of each verse, "*Kyrie Eleison*" was sung, which at last seemed quite to lose its mournful meaning, and passed into the burden of a song. And then French or German or other vernacular words were used instead of Latin, and set in the

same metres, but still the two words, "*Kyrie Eleison*," were retained for the burden, for they had such pleasant melodies, and were so familiar to the people's ear, that they could never be cast aside. And these "*Kyrie Eleison*" songs were called by various, though similar, names in the corrupt pronunciation of provinces and of different countries; and in Germany they were called "*Kyrieleis*," or "*Kyricles*," and in Bohemia, "*Croles*," or "*Crilessen*," and in Holland, "*Kyrioles*," in France, "*Kyrielles*," "*Kisielles*," "*Quirielles*," and in England, "*Croles*," or "*Caroles*."<sup>1</sup> And the subjects of the songs were not always sacred, but very frequently secular now, and owing to their familiar refrains which every one knew, they were great favourites with the people. And here are some of the beautiful medieval "*Kyries*," so that we cannot wonder that the people would delight in singing them again and again:—



And even in these three that we have cited, what similarity of cadence and of melody! so that to

<sup>1</sup> Schletterer's *Geschichte der geistliche Dichtung*.

<sup>2</sup> 12th century MS.

<sup>3</sup> 12th century.

<sup>4</sup> This is strictly a *Kyrie farci*,



remember them was an easy thing. And the people sang them in their own way, singing as they danced, and taking them to dancing rhythms, which made them crisp and melodious.

And meanwhile the Hymns and Sequences were passing into popular tunes, that is, they were imprinting their form on the songs of the people, which were now first beginning to sound in Europe; for it seemed as if all things were coming together, happiness to the common people, and joy and release to the world at large. And first we must say that the Sequences had little by little grown so like the Hymns, that there was scarce any distinguishing one from the other; for instead of being written in limping prose, they were now written always in metre, and generally in that common Hymn metre of four iambic feet or spondees to the line. Even the repetition of each line of melody twice over, which originated in their antiphonal singing, was not universally preserved, but was fast giving way to the regular Hymn form,<sup>1</sup> and in this manner the Sequences were sung in churches. Some indeed say that the Hymns themselves were by this time released from their seclusion, and were admitted to ordinary public worship, and that this was the reason for the prevalence of the Form, which now at last appears triumphant. And the people's songs, as we said, taking their impress from the Hymn, either directly or through the Sequence, were all couched in its form, that is, in stanzas of four lines each, and lines of four iambuses or four trochees, mixed with spondees,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. all sequences of this century, especially those in collections of Latin Hymns.



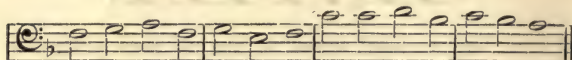
or trochaically,



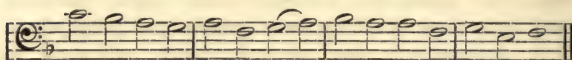
And the complete music of any of their songs has not survived, but only fragments of the music; on the other hand, the words of many have remained, and from these we have been enabled to judge them.

A strange relic has survived, which will show us what the music in its entirety was. Among the wrecks of the medieval popular music, a People's Sequence has survived entire, and its words are partly in Latin, and partly in the vernacular, in the latter case being in every respect a repetition of the ordinary popular song, whose words we have said are often preserved to us. And we shall see what the music is, how it is exactly the music of the Hymn, as the metre of the words would otherwise imply. And the Sequence we speak of is the Sequence of the Ass. Once a year on the 14th of January was celebrated now the Feast of Asses, which was a burlesque of the Mass. A beautiful girl was selected to represent the Virgin, and she was seated on an ass, most elegantly caparisoned, and carried a child in her arms. to represent the infant Jesus. And she was led to the church amid a great procession of people, and conducted up the aisle to the gospel side of the altar, that is, to the right hand side of it looking down the church. Here she dismounted, and sat with the ass tethered by her, while the mass was performed. And the burlesque went on in this manner: the Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, &c. were all terminated with the words "Hee-Haw!" and at the end of the

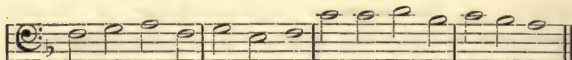
service, the priest, instead of saying "*Itē Missa est*," brayed three times, and the people brayed three times in response.<sup>1</sup> And this is the Sequence of the Ass, which was chanted at its proper place in the service :—



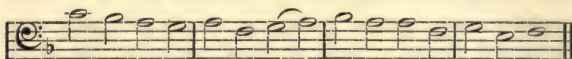
O - ri - en - ti - bus ad - ven - ta - vit as - i - nus,



Pul - cher et for - ti - si - mus, Sar - ci - nis ap - ti - si - mus.



Hez ! Sire As - nes, car chan - tez, Bel - le bou - che re - chi - gnez.



Vous au - rez du foin as - sez, et de l'a - voin - e a plan - tez.

This is the first time we meet with the vernacular in any entire piece of medieval music, and, as we say, it is a key to the character of the medieval popular songs, which were written in this measure.

Now why the Church Music should impress itself so strongly on the popular mind as to reproduce itself in the people's songs, why, I say, so powerful an influence could be exerted by the Church in these days, was because there was an intimacy of connection, a familiarity of intercourse between the Church and the common people, such as never in history has occurred again. The clergy would often get up shows to please the people, in which they would

<sup>1</sup> Ducange. Art. Festum. as it was celebrated at Beauvais.

represent various incidents of Holy Writ, dressing up the chancel to represent a scene, and having the various personages performed in character. And these shows afterwards developed into the Miracle Plays and Mysteries, as is well known. But they did more than this, for on certain days of the year they threw open the churches to the people, and allowed them to have their games and dances there.<sup>1</sup> Well, therefore, might the influence of the Church be so strong on the people, when such familiarity of intercourse prevailed between the two. And how the Church tunes came to ring in their ears, so that they were never forgotten, is well seen also, for all the while they were dancing and singing, the organ was playing in time with them,<sup>2</sup> playing popular hymns and sequences in frolic time, or sometimes Antiphons and Graduals, which must have been sadly curbed and altered by the measure of the dance. And once a year, that is, on Easter Day, the clergy themselves joined in the sport. There was a Ball Dance on that day in the choir. The Dean stood with a ball in his hand, and directly the organ struck up, he threw it to one of the choristers, and he to another, and so it was passed all round the choir. Even an Archbishop, if he were there, did not disdain to bandy it. And meanwhile the choir boys were leaving their places in the stalls, and bounding and leaping all about the chancel, and the elder clergy joining in with them, and footing it to the sound of the organ.<sup>3</sup> And if these were merriments, there were also actual grotesques, which, since music played so chief a part

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<sup>1</sup> Ducange. Choreare.

<sup>2</sup> Ducange. Art. Pelots. Percola.

<sup>3</sup> The Ball Dance is minutely described in the Acta Sanctorum.

in them, and indeed seems to have originated them, we may well consider to form a part of its history, and to be to music what the tailed dragons and griffins and other grotesques are to sculpture. For the Boy Bishop was a chorister, and the whole of that burlesque ceremony originated with the choir; as also the Burial of the Alleluia, in the same way, which we must particularly describe. For the Alleluia, which was the most joyous part of the service, and from whose fountain of copious melody the tuneful Sequences, as we have seen, had arisen, during Lent was not sung at all, and the people were so heartily sorry to lose it, and most of all the choristers, who delighted in it, that a mimic ceremony of burial was gone through, and the Alleluia was solemnly interred in a grave, there to remain till Lent had ended. And it was on Septuagesima Sunday that the ceremony took place. After the last *Benedicamus* had been sung, the choristers advanced with crosses, torches, holy water, and incense, carrying a turf in the manner of a coffin, which was to represent the dead Alleluia. And in this way they passed down the church, singing a dirge, and so out into the church-yard, where a grave was dug, and the turf was buried. And sometimes a choir boy whipped a top down the aisle in front of the procession, on which the word, "Alleluia," was written in golden letters. This was to show to those who knew it not the meaning of the ceremony.<sup>1</sup> But the pageant of the Boy Bishop passed from a mere jest into a piece of most serious drollery, and we may see to what lengths humour could run, when we remember that a choir boy, having been elected bishop for the

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<sup>1</sup> Ducange. Art. Alleluia,



space of three weeks every year, that is to say, from St. Nicholas' Day till Innocents' Day, the 6th to the 28th of December, any benefice that fell vacant in the diocese during that period was in his gift, for he was elected to discharge all the functions of the regular bishop,<sup>1</sup> and during his tenure of office the whole diocese was ruled by the boys of the choir. This indeed was an utter upsetting of all propriety, and humour carried to extremities. And he had prebendaries and canons of his own, and chaplains and deacons—all, like him, boys of the choir. And at the solemn service on the eve of Innocents' Day, he officiated, attended by the real Deans and Canons and clergy of the Cathedral. And there he sat in his rochet and chimer. And he had a ring on his finger, and a mitre on, and a crozier. And the mitre was made of cloth of gold, with knobs of silver gilt, and was garnished with pearls.<sup>2</sup> Now with the Pope of Fools we pass from decent, if extraordinary jesting, to actual ribaldry and profanity. For the Porter preached a sermon, and the Pope of Fools celebrated high mass, and afterwards played at dice on the altar. Cakes and spiced wine were also served out to the communicants, and after celebration they adjourned to the ale-house.<sup>3</sup> This was one of the mockeries and profanities that had sprung up in the general levity and gaiety of the time, and was very different from the good-humoured extravagancies we have mentioned before. But in the tide of happiness that was overspreading the world, such things as this

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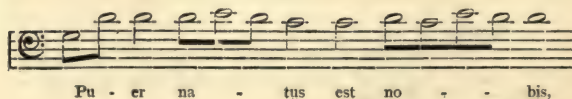
<sup>1</sup> At Salisbury at least it was so.

<sup>2</sup> For a full description of the service, &c., see the *Processionale ad usum insignis et præclaræ ecclesiæ Sarum. Rothomagi. 1566.* 4-6,

<sup>3</sup> Ducange. *Art. Kalendæ.*

came with the rest, and must be considered as merely the excess of the same feelings, which to greater or less degree prompted all.

But meanwhile the monks in their cloisters still pursued their tranquil life, far removed from the joys and fears of the world beyond. Yet even here gaiety found an entry, but not couched in the language of vulgar folly, but how idealised! how transfigured! The gaiety of the world could only shed celestial peace on their souls. With them, happiness appears as beauty, and joy goes out in heavenly melody. While the world was rejoicing, their vigils and prayers had still continued, in no way different to when we saw them first at their midnight matins singing the hymns of St. Ambrose. Whole nights would they spend in prayer, and they would remain in their chapels all through a November darkness till morning light appeared, kneeling or lying on the benches for very weariness, while every now and then the Prior would go through the aisle with a lantern to reprove the sluggard, or encourage those who fainted with fatigue. In such a life as this, heavenly tunes were born; for melody, which is the rose of emotion, flowers sweetest where asceticism is its fosterer. And the wild Gregorian music floated in unwonted strains of beauty now. And there were melodies, such as came like visions to men who knelt with bare knees on flintstones in their cells, and wore sackcloth next their skin, and wept and prayed till nature could endure no longer. And of such melodies this is one :—



et fi - li - us da - tus est no -

bis, cu - jus im - pe - ri - um su - per

hu - me - rum e - jus,

et..... vo - ca - bi - tur..... no - men

e - jus mag - ni con -

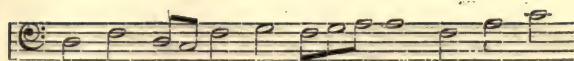
si - li - i an - ge - lus.

And more such heavenly melodies we might give, which stand out in strong relief from the vague tunelessness of the Gregorian Song, and point to this later period for their composition, as indeed we know it to have been. For joy had at last found its way into the cells of ascetics, and their sternness was melting away into emotion. Nay, even a tenderer feeling than joy had made its way there; for that strange and beautiful cult, the worship of the Blessed Virgin, was common now in every monastery, and

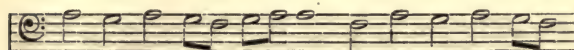
<sup>1</sup> From the Antiphony of Montpellier.

who shall tell to what height of rapture it was carried in the privacy of the cells? At any rate, if music can speak the language of devotion and love, that language is most truly spoken in every tone that tells of her. For as we turn the dry pages of service books, there is sameness and monotony on other themes, but directly her name appears, flow'rets seem to spring, and the melody of streams to murmur through the page.

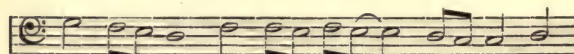
And what scope for beauty of melody was there then, such as shall never occur again in music! For we of modern days, since harmony has been added to the art, are insensibly fettered in our flights, and even restricted in our choice of sounds, so as to be in keeping with certain stock progressions of the harmonising parts, which occur again and again, and have, without our knowing it, engendered many samenesses of turn and cadence, conventional forms of phrase, and generally a limitation of breadth and roomy thinking in the composition of tune. Most of all has the methodical alternation of Dominant and Tonic in the bass done this, cramping the air by separating it into alternate sets of notes, which come in regular succession as the bass moves. But then all was freedom. The fetters of harmony had not yet been forged. The melody soared careless and uncontrolled, and in an age of beauty and happiness, what lovely music did ensue! And a specimen of this ease of movement we have already given in the Antiphon for Christmas Day, "*Puer natus est*," in examining which, who detects any of those deliberate progressions to certain groups of notes, which harmony has now compelled? It is an unchecked flow of beautiful sound. And similarly free, and almost as beautiful, is this monkish gradual:—



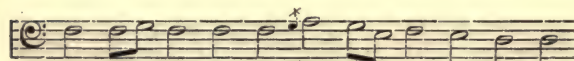
Pu - e - ri He - bræ - o - rum, tol - len - tes



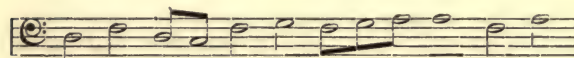
ra - mos ol - i - va - rum, ob - vi - a - ve - runt



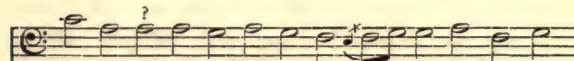
do - mi - no, cla - man - - - tes et di -



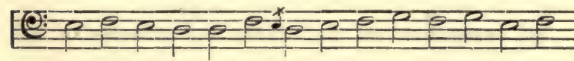
cen - tes, O - san - na..... in ex - cel - sis!



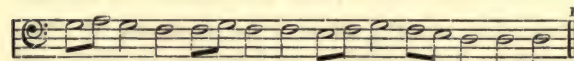
Pu - e - ri He - bræ - o - rum ves - ti -



men - ta sua pros - ter - ne - bant in vi - a, et cla - ma -

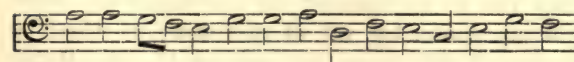


bant, di - cen - tes, O - san - na fi - li - o Da - vid! be - ne -



dic - tus qui ve - nit in no - mi - ne do - mi - ni!

or this, which belongs to the same period:—



Ad - est no - bis di - es al - ma, et mag - no gau - di - o

\* From German Gradual. 11th century.



ple - na, In qua san - cta de - o gra - ta con - gau - det

ec - cles - i - a. Ho - di - e cæ - les - tis læ - ta - tur

tur - ba, quæ glo - ri - am can - tat in ex - cel - sis

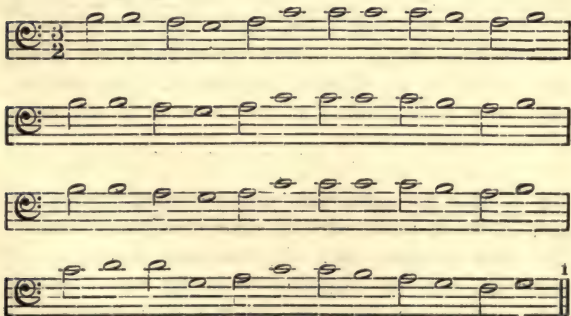
vo - ce dul - cis - o - na cum sym - pho - ni - a.

But this freedom of melody was soon to pass away, for indeed this very force of Harmony had in a remote corner of the world by this time begun, and we shall see under its influence the free joyousness give way to unnatural cramp and stiffness, till in course of time the old flexibility is in a measure regained, when the fetters have become silken, and music is reconciled to her new companion.

And meanwhile we may notice the influence of the Hymn in greater or less degree on all these pieces we have given, and on the first indeed it is not very strong, but into the others it has insinuated its form, imprinting a soft rhythm on Gregorian Antiphons and Graduals, despite the unmetrical words and long-drawn phrases, and tuning their straggling shape to symmetry. And this is an operation of its influence we would willingly pursue, but yet we shall prefer to travel in a stronger light than this, and see how the Hymn

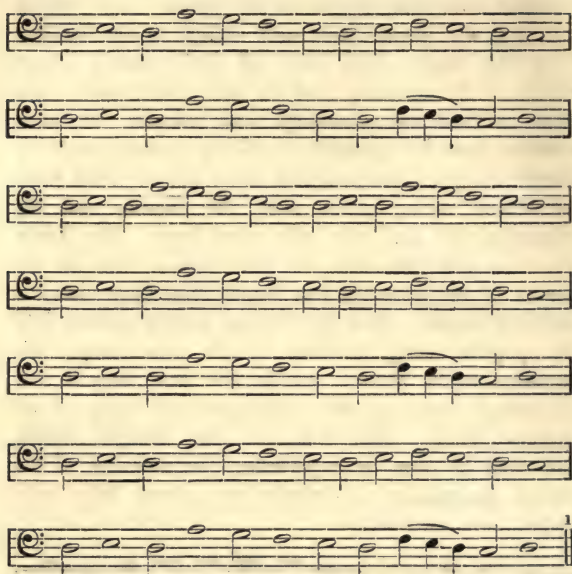
<sup>1</sup> From a collection of Festival Music (English MS.) Brit. Museum. Royal. 2. B. IV.

itself received a greater rhythm, and was changed and rendered still more plastic in its outline. For having said that the people had such delight in the familiar form that they would have all their homely songs taken to its measure, and in this way would sing them at their merry-makings and dances, we must consider how the complexion of the melody would be altered by its accompaniment to a dance. And what we found taking place with the Greeks and the barbarians, we find also take place here. For Triple Time is ever the time of the dance; and in the dances of the peasants was Triple Time born into the medieval world. And the Hymn, having passed into the popular song, received in its new shape this accession to its beauty, and in this final form it now established itself as the foundation and type of all popular music. And how this was brought about, may well be seen by considering the melodies of the dances themselves, of which, two from this early period have survived:—



<sup>1</sup> Printed in Fourtaul's Introduction to the Dance of Death: (Paris: Schlotthauer's engravings.)

And the other one :—



And they are both, as will be seen, in Triple Time, and danced to the Iambic measure, ♩ —, so that we may write their rhythm, as we wrote it in the times of the Greeks,

♩ — | ♩ — | ♩ — | ♩ — | ♩ — | &c.

and it will be plain that whatever song is sung to such a dance, must take its time from this measure ; and since singing was the constant recreation of holidays, when dancing and junketing were holding high carnival too, little by little all the popular songs began to give evidence of this new influence, so that

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque de Lille. MS. 95.

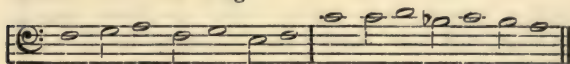
of the fragments which remain to us from this early period, there is not one but what is in Triple Time. Dancing indeed had developed into a sort of passion among all orders of the people. "In public places and in the fields," says a historian of the time, "dancing is common at all hours of the day."<sup>1</sup> "Men and women," says another, "are continually dancing together, holding one another by the hand, and concluding the dance with a kiss."<sup>2</sup> And is there not the story of the Doomed Dancers, which belongs to this period, who incurred the vengeance of the Church? for indeed the Church, which at first had encouraged these harmless levities, was now, in the abuse of them, compelled to reprimand and restrain. "I, Othbert, a sinner," runs the legend, "have lived to tell the tale. It was the vigil of the Blessed Virgin, and in a town of Saxony, where was a church of St. Magnus. And the priest, Ratbertus, had just began the mass, and I with my comrades, fifteen young men and three young women, were dancing outside the church. And we were singing so loud, that our songs were distinctly heard inside the building, and interrupted the service of the mass. And the priest came out and told us to desist; and when we did not, he prayed God and St. Magnus that we might dance as our punishment for a year to come. A youth, whose sister was dancing with us, seized her by the arm to drag her away, but it came off in his hand, and she danced on. For a whole year we continued. No rain fell on us; cold, nor heat, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor fatigue, affected us; neither our shoes nor our clothes wore out; but

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<sup>1</sup>. Quoted in Sir John Hawkins. I.

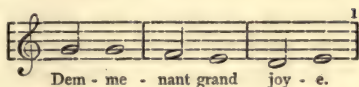
<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Fosbrooke.

still we went dancing on. We trod the earth down to our knees, next to our middles, and at last were dancing in a pit."<sup>1</sup> With the end of the year release came. And in this story we have a legendary account of a true matter, for dancing had become a rage among the people, as we have said, and other reports we might give of the same thing. Even churchyards were not sacred from the dancers,<sup>2</sup> where perhaps those luckless dancers were dancing who were bewitched. And the perpetual Feast Days of the Calendar offered an excuse for dancing, and the May Day dances were beginning. So that we cannot wonder to find dancing time penetrating so widely into the popular music, as indeed to exclude all others. And thus the habit was laid of using triple time for every song, whether danced to or whether not. Even the popular Sequences and Hymns were sung by the people themselves, whatever the Church might do, in Triple Time, and thus the Sequence of the Ass for instance was now sung:<sup>3</sup>

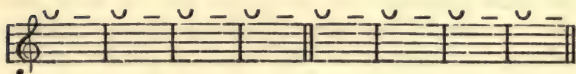




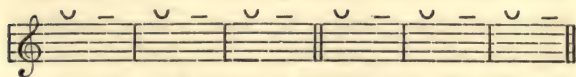
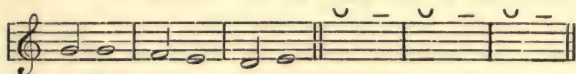
and another much like it,



both obviously fragments of complete songs, of which the first ran in the ordinary hymn-measure of four feet a line and four lines, and in its entirety would have been,



while the second is in the same measure, but shortened of a foot,



And we shall see that while these are in Iambic Triple, the Ass' Sequence was in Trochaic Triple. And this is a thing which most naturally has occurred, for both forms of step,  $\text{v} -$  and  $- \text{v}$ , are equally intuitive to the dance, as we found them among the Greeks; but there the Trochee seemed the more primitive step of the two, the lighter and gayer one.

<sup>1</sup> In the Pseudo-Bede.

but in the Middle Ages the Iambic step is the first to appear, which is the graver and soberer step, and its influence is also far more widespread throughout the music. And the forms of these medieval dances we would willingly give, but as yet we have no actual records of the figures. It was the beginning, almost the chaos, of those gay patterns of elegance, which afterwards appeared as the dances of Europe. The simplest of the steps were there, but the weaving of them, which is higher art, had yet to come. And there was much liberty and lawlessness, as I say, and the dancing was rather the joy of motion than any ordered symmetry of tread. But the figure of one of their dances has been preserved to us, and it is the most primitive of all figures, and we have met with it before. The men and women danced together holding one another by the hand, or linked arm in arm. And standing in a ring, they danced round and round, singing a song the while, which they called the Round Song, or the "*Rounde lay*." And first, turning round in one way, they would sing the first verse, and then turning the other way, the next verse; and so they would continue, singing the same strain again and again for many verses together.<sup>1</sup> And this was the commonest of all their dances, we are told, and the others we may well conceive to have been variations of this, or some figure no less simple, in which art as yet had little share. And thus they would dance to the sound of pipe and tabor, singing as they danced, or with a lute perhaps accompanying their voices, and giving them melody to their steps.

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<sup>1</sup> Fosbrooke describes this dance. See also Brand's *Antiquities*, Adrien de la Fage, &c.

And the sounds of their songs floated through the convent windows, where the monks were studying and praying. And most strangely would the strains fall on those solitary hearts, that knew so little of worldly joy, and doubtless the music itself would sound no less strange to ears ringing with Antiphons and Cremos. The rhythmic buoyant time, the voices of women, the pipe and tabor, or the lute twittering with the voices, and touching off here and there the melody they sang with snatches of quaint accompaniment—so different was all this to what those sad recluses knew, that it seemed a new music to them, and many would shut their ears to it as against an unholy thing. But some listened. And so listened, in the convent of St. Amand in Flanders, Hucbald, a learned monk, and the profoundest scholar in musical lore, which any monastery of the age could show. He, sitting among his Greek and Latin manuscripts, turning the pages of his beloved Boëthius, or musing over Ptolemy, or Vitruvius, or those Pythagorean treatises, which he had been the first to unroll since the days of Boëthius himself, heard the peasants singing and dancing in the fields outside his walls. And listening to their artless music, what his ear caught most was not so much the rhythm or the melody, for with these the doctrines of Pythagoras were but little concerned, but the play of the instrument and the voices, as it flung a rude accompaniment to them, beneath the random hand of the village player. And he marked how here and there the effect was most sweet, but at other places it went against the voices in a manner that jarred sadly on the ear. And it was to him as if men were sorting puzzle letters into pattern, that sometimes by good luck spelt off into a word, but as often as not made nonsense and

confusion.<sup>1</sup> And he took his pen and wrote as follows:—"Præmissæ voces non omnes æque suaviter sibi miscentur, nec quoquo modo junctæ concordabiles in cantu reddunt effectus." "Sounds do not all unite together in the same degree of sweetness, nor can random combinations of them ever produce harmonious effects in music."<sup>2</sup> But out of the range of tones those sounds must be picked, by which this sweetness might be systematically ensured, and this was the curious task which Hucbald found himself attempting; having fallen into it he knew not how, but at least realising to himself that he must now endeavour to apply in practice those precepts, which up till now had been with him a mere matter of speculation. And there was another and perhaps a more powerful reason for the attempt; for the organists in the chapels and churches were now accustomed to employ a similar free style of accompaniment,<sup>3</sup> and often with as disastrous effects; indeed, whenever an instrument was used to accompany the voice, this practice seems to have been usual, if we may judge from the name which was applied to it, for it was called, "Instrumentation," or "Organisation," the word, "*Organum*," being the general term in those days for any musical instrument.<sup>4</sup> And the practice of the organists, from

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<sup>1</sup> Ut litteræ, si inter se passim junguntur, sæpe nec verbis nec syllabis concordabunt copulandis. Hucbaldi Musica Enchiriadis. Cap. X.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

<sup>3</sup> Cottonius in Gerbert. II. 263.

<sup>4</sup> Amalarius. De Eccles. Officiis. III. 3. (9th century.) "*Organum* vocabulum est generale vasorum omnium musicorum." So also in Papias' Vocabulista (11th century) "*Organum* generale nomen," &c. The same had been said by St. Isidore in his Origins, II. 20., "*Organum* vocabulum generale," &c. That this was the usual method of accompanying the voice in his time, appears from Hucbald's own words, that the style is seen "*promptius in musicis instrumentis*."

which we are left to gather our chief evidence, seems to have agreed much with the style of accompanying which we found among the Greeks, so that we may almost assume that the tradition of this style had remained along with other relics of classical culture—with the Modes, and the Hymns, &c., and had been preserved in greater or less esteem in the practice of players.<sup>1</sup> For they were accustomed to accompany the voice in 5ths or 4ths above or below, or else in 8ves<sup>2</sup>—these three were the leading intervals—and also to employ discordant notes with as great freedom, but probably with less judgment, than was the habit among the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> And this style, I say, we may either imagine to have sustained itself from classical times, or to have developed naturally in the growth of so many new things during the Dark Ages. For we have seen similar practices arise even among barbarian man, when Harmony began with the union of the voice and the instrument; and a repetition of similar circumstances would most naturally bring similar results in its train. Most of all would an instrument like the organ be apt to develop such a style, for played as it was with two hands, that is, with two parts travelling in the accompaniment instead of one, there was every likelihood that both at any rate would not be content with merely repeating the melody of the voice, but that one at least would seek the variety

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. in his *De Harmonica Institutione*. Consonantia est duorum sonorum concordabilis permixtio, ut fit in eo quod consueute organisationem vocant—whence it appears that the practice was in existence already.

<sup>2</sup> Ench. II. De Symphoniis.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. his remarks in Cap. X. of the same, which make it appear that discordant notes were commonly used.



of occasional, and as it seems to us, of perpetual digression from the air. Whatever the origin of the practice, then, whether traditional or of recent growth, in the time of Hucbald it was pursued as we have described it, and his attention was now turned to remedying its inaccuracies. And he approached his task as a scholar mapping the ways of the world to the pattern of the study, or as a philosophic visionary who constructs an ideal polity, and then seeks to impress it upon men; for let us hear in his own words his qualifications for the task. God, he says, has suffered him to peer into the writings of the ancients. He knows the musical construction of the universe, and how the elements are arranged in musical proportions; how therefore some sounds eternally agree, and others disagree, according as they follow in the patterns of universal nature. It will, therefore, not be hard for him, he seems to think, to tabulate and classify harmonious sounds, and introduce the principles of truth into what was now often but capricious invention.<sup>1</sup> Yet even in his boasted knowledge there is much obscurity, for at the commencement of his task he seems to think, that the harmoniousness resides in the sounds themselves, instead of in their relations to one another; he imagines that he may pick out of the scale of notes a certain select few, like one picking flowers, and so he shall get the harmony he is in search of.<sup>2</sup> Even his terminology is rude and confused, and he scarce knows how to express himself on the subjects he treats of. Melody he defines as "a uniform song,"<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Enchiriad. II. Cap. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

<sup>3</sup> Uniformis canor.

and harmonised melody as "a consonance concordantly different."<sup>1</sup> But gradually he reaches greater clearness of expression, and the following terms appear: Harmony is "Symphony,"<sup>2</sup> Harmonised melody is "a song composed of symphonies ;"<sup>3</sup> or in one word it is defined as "Diaphony ;"<sup>4</sup> or, regarding its origin from instruments, as "Organum ;"<sup>5</sup> while the art of adding this harmonious accompaniment is called "Organisation," that is, "Instrumentation,"<sup>6</sup> which term we have heard before. And his conceptions become clearer in like manner, and without pausing over the intermediate steps by which he arrives at his results, let us see the final form in which he determines that harmonies must be. And we shall see that he has been, to Pythagoras and Boëthius, and has imported their doctrine of the perfection of Consonances, to be the canon and norm of practical music, without any regard to those variations of dissonance by which the Greeks themselves had alleviated the severity of Harmony, and which the practice of the Middle Ages, though in an uncouth and corrupt form, had yet continued. And we shall see what stiffness will ensue, not unlike the stiff drapery and straight figures which characterise the sculpture of the age, or the stiff figures of the tapestry, that seem to be wooden figures not men. For he lays it down that only the three Perfect Consonances must be employed in Harmony, that is to say, the 8ve, 5th, and 4th,<sup>7</sup> and taking a melody, which he calls the Principal part, he sets another part to it,

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<sup>1</sup> *Concentus concorditer dissonus.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ench. Cap. X.*

<sup>3</sup> *Cap. 13.*

<sup>4</sup> *Cap. 10.*

<sup>5</sup> *Vel assuete organum vocamus.*

<sup>6</sup> *De Harmonica Institutione,*

<sup>7</sup> *Cap. X.*

which he calls the Instrumental or Organal Part, which proceeds in one or other of these intervals, without change, from beginning to end, as in 5ths it would be:—

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi - li - us.

*Principal, or  
Voice Part.*

*Instrumental  
Part.*

in 8ves:—

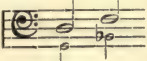
Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi - li - us.<sup>2</sup>

*Voice Part.*

*Instrumental  
Part.*

And in 4ths in the same manner.<sup>3</sup> In no case allowing the introduction of any other interval than that it began with; in which we may mark the true medieval stiffness, and severity of the study.

And there were developed forms of these, by which three or even four parts were admitted to the Harmony. And yet they were not real parts, but only one or other of the original parts doubled, as in the Diaphony

of the 5th , first, the Instrumental Part

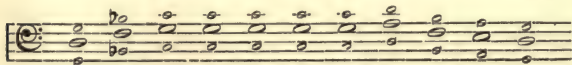
might be doubled above, and secondly, it might be doubled below, thirdly, the Voice part might be doubled above, and fourthly, it might be doubled below, while, fifthly, the Instrumental part might be placed above the Doubled Voice Part, and finally, both parts might be doubled.

<sup>1</sup> Cap. 12.

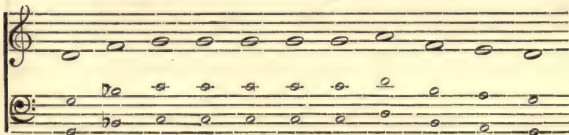
<sup>2</sup> Cap. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. 13.

Firstly, the Instrumental part might be doubled above,<sup>1</sup>



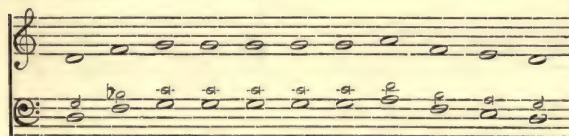
Secondly, it might be doubled below,<sup>2</sup>



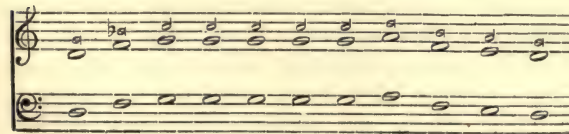
Thirdly, the Voice part might be doubled above the Instrumental,<sup>3</sup>



Fourthly, the Voice part might be doubled below the Instrumental,



Fifthly, the Instrumental part might be placed above the Doubled Voice part instead of between it,

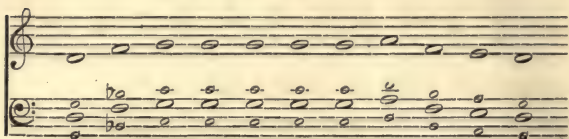


<sup>1</sup> Hucbaldus. II. De Symphoniis.

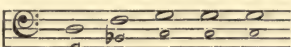
<sup>2</sup> Hucbaldus. II. De Symphoniis.

<sup>3</sup> Ib., and the succeeding instances likewise

And lastly, both parts might be doubled, as,



All these it will be seen being but repetitions of the

original form , and in no

sense an innovation on it; while with the 4th it was the same, so that putting a 4th instead of a 5th in the above examples, we shall have in precisely the same positions six forms of the Diaphony of the 4th. The Diaphony of the 8ve, it will be plain, admitted only of the two positions:—



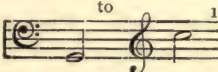
both of which are used.

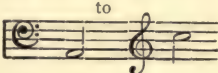
But with the 4th, Hucbald was compelled to relax somewhat the rigour of his rules. For in the almost mechanical method of his harmony, he had overlooked something—a thing which often happens, when things come by deliberation, not by nature, and is usual to occur in systems. For that interval, the Tritone, or Fourth of three whole tones, which has a place once in every octave, and was easily avoided by the flexible harmony of the Greeks, which could vary its intervals at pleasure, was inescapable in the system of Hucbald, For starting with 4ths, he had laid it



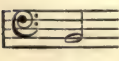
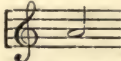
down that 4ths must continue, and no melody written could be so conveniently constructed as to miss the perilous place for long. A similar flaw might have attended his Diaphony of 5ths, for there is also an Imperfect 5th in every octave, of two tones and two semitones, and a harmony travelling exclusively in 5ths must ever and again have lighted on this, had it not been for a peculiarity of the Musical Scale at this period, which had eliminated Imperfect 5ths from the gamut.

For since we left the Scale in the days of Gregory at Constantinople, many were the changes that had passed over it, and its history for centuries is lost in darkness; till by the time of Hucbald we get tidings of it again, and it reappears in a most peculiar form, which it will be well here for a moment to consider. And the changes had affected not so much its compass as the progression of the intervals that composed it, although its compass too had changed, but only by the addition of one note at the bottom, so that

now it extended from from 

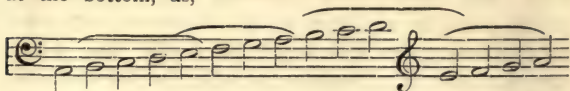
instead of, in the times of Gregory, 

Far more remarkable alterations than this however had made themselves felt in the notes which composed it, for whereas in the ancient Greek Scale the notes ran in a series of conjunct tetrachords from

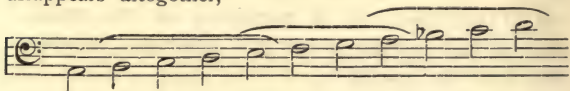
 to , with a *Proslambanomenos*

<sup>1</sup> See Hucbald's Scale. p. 166 in Gerbert.

at the bottom, as,

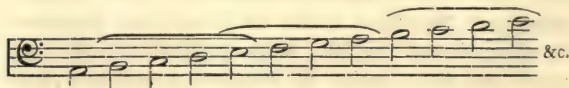


a disjunction of the tetrachords occurring in the middle, which in the *Synemmenon* System however disappears altogether,

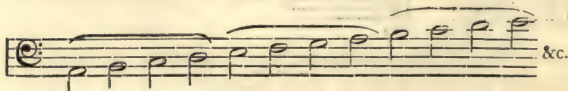


this union of the parts had sadly separated in the Byzantine days. In the general disbanding and breaking up of Greek life, it seemed as if the scale too was to disband and separate ; and this was the way in which it occurred:—The *Proslambanomenos*, which in the best days of Greek music, had been admitted and viewed on all hands as merely an addition to the scale, “an added note,” as its name implies, had gradually lost that character, and began at last to be regarded as an intrinsic part of the scale itself. When this position was finally established for it, next came the desire to include it in the Tetrachords ; and the lowest tetrachord in the course of this achievement became separated from the higher, in this way:—

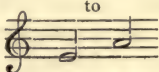
#### ORIGINAL FORM.



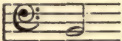
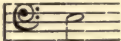
#### NEW FORM.



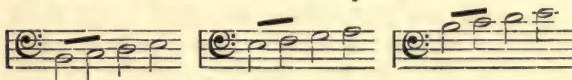
Now then there were three Disjunct Tetrachords in

the scale, the highest one from  being in the meantime conjunct with the one below it; and in this way was the scale gradually breaking up,

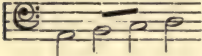
But let us for a moment observe the intervals of this lowest, or Proslambanomenos Tetrachord, and we shall see a remarkable variation in it from their position in the original form, and also in the tetrachords above them. For in all these, and in the

original tetrachord from  to 

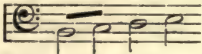
the semitone occurs in the first place,



but in the Proslambanomenos Tetrachord it occurs a step higher up, that is, in the second place

 And this is a thing which

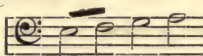
may well amaze us, for never through the whole of Greek Musical History, or indeed in any Ancient Music, have we found a Tetrachord so constituted, but they all had the semitone in the 1st place, as

we have written them above, in  &c.

Now this thing, which occurs in the decay and corruption of Greek Music, and has proceeded from a corruption of its forms, as we have shown, must nevertheless not be regarded as in itself a

corruption, but as an actual step of development in the history of the scale. For we have seen, indeed, how at the appearance of Christianity in the world there was a fainting in the traditions of art, yet no abrupt division, but much of the old remained, and was received into the new elements, and thus pursued its path of development, which otherwise it might never have reached to. And such a progression in development was this apparent corruption of the lower tetrachord; and how it was so we may well enquire. For what is a Tetrachord? And a Tetrachord is an infant scale, and among the Aryans, and especially the Greeks, the first form that a scale appears in. And whatever we assume as the origin of Tetrachords themselves, whether deducing them from the union of fragmentary small scales, as we have theorised in early times and in discussing the origin of the Greek Modes, or whether we conceive them to have grown up in the form we find them in, certain it is that Tetrachords are the first actual historical data for our study of the scale, and with the arrival at tetrachords a new starting-point is reached for scale development. And a Tetrachord contains all the characteristics and essentials of a scale, being, as we say, an infant one. For it is a sweep of the voice through certain notes, which often occurring, and occurring easily, gives birth in time to a recognised formula of sound, which thenceforth becomes the subject of art. And the Voice, in forming its tetrachord, is travelling in the very steps of nature. Even the length of the sweep which forms the progression seems determined by the exigencies of the breath, and the succession of the intervals certainly is. For the behaviour of the breath in speaking and singing we have studied before, and found that it does not attain its full volume at

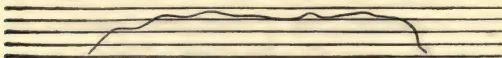
the very commencement of its exercise, but here there is a reluctance or a weakness, which is the hesitation before the effort, or the mustering up the powers to make it, being indeed but the common behaviour of nature, which has shade before light, and a whisper before a wind. And this weakness appears in the tetrachord as the Semitone, which is the easiest and weakest place in the progression, and therefore most naturally comes first,



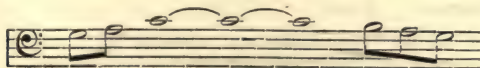
And this habit of the Voice, I say, we have studied twice before in this history, and each time have found it produce the same results. And first we considered it in the declamation of Homeric Times, and how it determined the emphasis of the Epic line, which began with softness, and reached its full volume in the middle, and then died away in a cadence again at the end, representing it thus:—



And we also studied it in the declamation of the early Christians, when we were concerned not with emphasis but with pitch, and we found that the natural habit of the voice determined the rise and fall of their chants, like a waved line appears to the eye, thus,



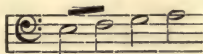
which written in notes became,



And now regarding it in its very exposition of intervals, and in its formation of scales themselves,

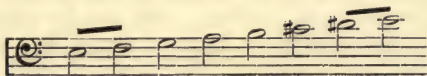


we must perforce follow the same line of discovery, and find the weakness at commencement in the Semitone, and the fullness of volume in the Tones that follow,

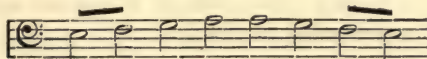


And this will be an offer at explaining the origin of the Semitone in all music.

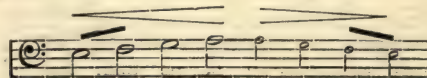
But now if we would harmonise our Tetrachord completely with the models we have just now given, we must carry it on to a legitimate cadence, where the voice fails again, that is to say, to the occurrence of another semitone; and we may write it,



or better and more naturally,

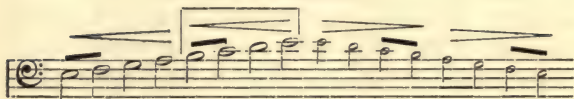


making the Tetrachord, as an expression of vocal movement, complete in itself. For Tetrachords were first developed independently, and then the scale was built out of them, growing time by time in extent and magnitude, as the voice grew more powerful and more copious, and was able to travel beyond the simple boundaries that at first were sufficient for it. And in this way did the Greek Scale grow up, of which tradition has ascribed the authorship to Pythagoras. First,



then,

## Added Tetrachord.



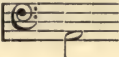
and then Tetrachords above and below in the same manner, till the complete scale was formed as we know it to be. And all Tetrachords in antiquity were formed in this manner. And this is the natural and simple form of their progression.

But now in Constantinople, and in the corruption and decline of Ancient Music, we have found a new form of Tetrachord, which we have refused to consider a corruption, and that for the following reason: That the mere admission of the *Proslambanomenos* into ordinary song shows a development and strengthening of the voice, a development, that is to say, in extent, and there can be no corruption where there is advance perceivable. And the admission of the *Proslambanomenos* had created a new form of Tetrachord with the Semitone second,



or in other words, art had so far advanced, or the voice had become so far stronger, as to overcome the *naïveté* and simplicity of nature, and, as if in a spirit of triumph, as is the way with advancing art, to court difficulties rather than recede from them, and to employ an artificial and difficult form of breathing, which subdues the inclination of nature, and throws force and body into the commencement of its effort. And this passing into an ordinary habit of singing, must necessarily imply a higher development of the human voice, though, if it occurred but occasionally,

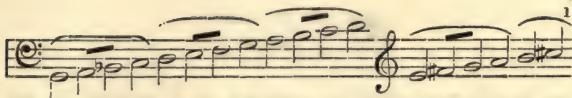
it could not strike us as the exemplification of a principle, but only as an idle and perhaps a wanton variation of the usual form. And this is the Second Stage of the Tetrachord, when all the Tetrachords in the Scale have put on this stronger and more artful form of intonation; which by the time of Hucbald we find accomplished. And however hard it may be to think of development in the present case, or that the rawness and rudeness of medieval singing was in any sense an improvement on the cultivated style of the Greeks, yet we must remember that Music, as all other things, proceeds to its maturity by stages of silent growth, and that its childhood may be one of brilliancy and wonder, and its youth be spent amidst clouds and darkness, but still the growth is proceeding. And now the greater strength and copiousness of the human voice is shown by the addition of a new note to the bottom of the scale, which even the admission

of the *Proslambanomenos*  to the fraternity

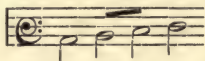
of the Tetrachords, that is, to common employment in song, was sufficient to testify; but by the time

of Hucbald we have a new note  added

beneath the *Proslambanomenos*, and all the Tetrachords of the Scale have become shaped to the pattern of the second stage of their development, that is, with a tone at their commencement instead of a semitone, and the semitone forced into the second place of the Tetrachord. For this is the musical scale by the time of Hucbald, and its division into Tetrachords is here given as recorded by him:—



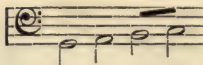
in which it will be seen that all the Tetrachords appear in the pattern of their Second Stage of development, that is, with a full tone in the first place, and the semitone driven into the second, agreeably to the shape of the Proslambanomenos Tetrachord, which we found to be the start of this peculiar form,



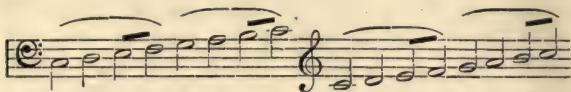
Now when the Third Stage in the development of the Tetrachord is reached, then will the Modern Scale of Europe at last appear. But this is in a time distant from the present, though its beginnings will not be far off. For the Voice, continuing silently to develop its powers, at last becomes strong enough to overcome its weakness almost entirely, and in the effort to do so the Semitone is driven into the third place, and the Third and last stage of the Tetrachord is arrived at, that is, with two whole tones at the commencement and the Semitone last,

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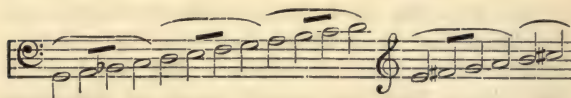
<sup>1</sup> See Hucbald's Scale in his *Musica Enchiriadis*. Of all the writers on the subject, and there have been many most painstaking ones, not one has taken the trouble, or rather has thought it worth while, to examine the succession of Tones and Semitones (T and S) as written by Hucbald in front of the notes themselves. This oversight on the part of enquirers has led to a vast abundance of writing, every second word of which is deformed by error. Were I to compute the number of printed pages within my own cognisance that deal with Hucbald's system, and, bearing the effects of this oversight, are by consequence from first to last mere idle writing, I might number some thousands. The present writer believes he is the first who has had the incredulity to suspect an error, and the curiosity to submit the diagrams of Hucbald himself to the minute consideration, up till now deemed unnecessary.



or, in its more familiar position, as it appears in the Scale of Modern Europe,



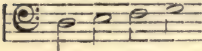
But this consummation, as we say, is yet in the distance, and we shall find strange influences brought to bear to effect it; and in the meantime we are in the Second Stage of the Tetrachord, and the Scale of Hucbald, which we have written,

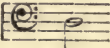


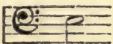
And the anomaly of a general scale written with accidentals occurring here and there, will disappear, if we remember that this is the shift we are reduced to, through having to employ a notation fitted solely to express our own modern scale, with its intervals, as we have given them above. For in those days no such anomaly was perceptible, when an entirely different notation was current. Neumes were the ordinary notation then, as we have described them in earlier pages of this work; but they were growing day by day less capable expositors of the music of the time. For admirable exponents as they were of the general flexions and movements of the voice, they did not descend to the niceties of song, and had no means of distinguishing a progression of a tone from that of a semitone, or the interval of a greater third from that of a lesser third, and so on. As long therefore as the scale was disorganised, and the positions

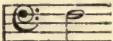


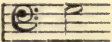
of the semitones were more or less undecided, that is, in the transition period between the Byzantine Scale and the present, the neumes served their purpose well. But directly the Scale grew into the symmetrical form we have just now given, their imperfections were most apparent; and we find Hucbald himself inventing a notation to chronicle the new scale, which we must now give:<sup>1</sup>—He took the letter F as the basis of his scheme, which is the first letter of the word, "*Finalis*;" and for that the second Tetrachord of his scale

 contained the Final notes ("*Finales*")

of all the Modes,  of the Dorian and

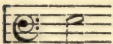
Hypodorian,  of the Phrygian and

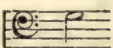
Hypophrygian,  of the Lydian and

Hypolydian, and  of the Mixolydian he


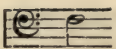
made his first beginning on this, and expressed these four notes by different forms of the letter F. He

expressed  by the simple letter F

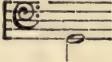

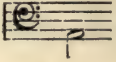
 by the letter with the top line turned


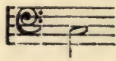

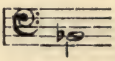
downwards F̣,  by the letter F with

<sup>1</sup> The complete system of notation, as here described, is given in his *Musica Enchiriadis*.

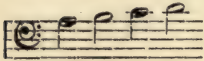
the top line curled upwards , and  by

the omission of the projecting lines, and the mere upstroke remaining |. The notes in this tetrachord he called the *Finales*. And the notes in the under Tetrachord he called the *Graves*, or "low notes," and he expressed them by varieties of the letter F

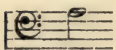

turned backwards:— by   by

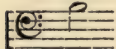

,  by,  and , or the

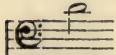

third note in the Tetrachord, by a figure derived from the | of the third note in the Tetrachord above, that is, by N. And the notes in the higher Tetrachord

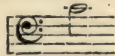
 he called *Superiores*, or "Upper

Notes," and he still expressed them by varieties of the letter F. This time by the F turned backwards, and also upside down,

 by 

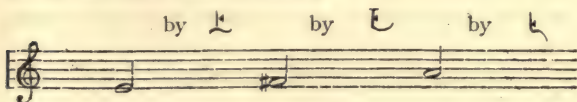
 by 

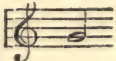
 by 

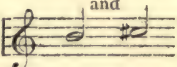
and , the third note in the Tetrachord, by

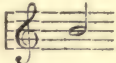

N; always expressing the third note in every Tetrachord by an almost distinctive sign, derived from the |, which was the sign for the third note in the Tetrachord of *Finales*.

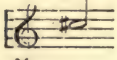

And the notes in the Tetrachord above this he called the *Excellentes*, or "the Extreme notes," and these he expressed by the letter F turned upside down, but this time forwards,



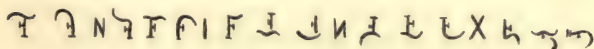
and the third note , as before, by a sign






derived from I, viz., X. And the two remaining notes above them again, viz.,  by forms

of F lying on its side, viz.,  by 

and  by . So now he could write

his complete scale, with it



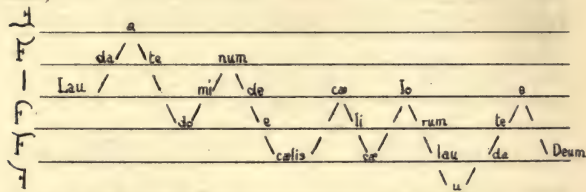
And when he would write words to his music, he had but to place his letters each after their syllable, or, if more than one tone went to a syllable, then more than one letter, as Al  le  lu   
ia   <sup>1</sup> which in modern music becomes,



But as if this were not sufficiently clear, he imagined

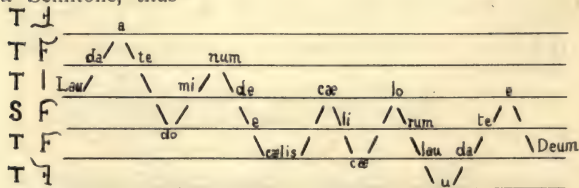
<sup>1</sup> Hucbald. VIII.

a plan by which the eye also might see the very motion of the voice, and the sound be rendered visible in writing. For he drew lines, and at every space between them he set one of his letters, thus, and wrote the melody as it moved from note to note, thus,



What clearness therefore is here! and what wonderful anticipation of future development was present in the mind of Hucbald! He was a man, indeed, far in advance of his time, and a figure in musical history of such moment, that we shall scarcely find so great a one again.

And next, in order to attain an exaggeration of exactitude and clearness, forced thereto no doubt by the terrible looseness and uncertainty which must have infected all the musical notation of his time, he took the last step to render his sounds completely palpable, for before each letter he wrote the name of the interval it represents, that is, whether a Tone or a Semitone, thus <sup>2</sup>

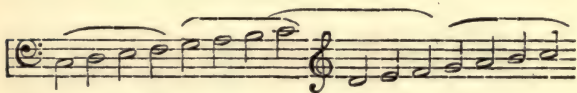


<sup>1</sup> Hucbald. VIII

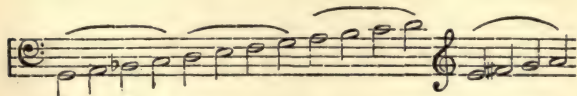
<sup>2</sup> Id. Cap. 13.

So that even those ignorant of his notation might sing his Music, as we believe was often done.

And this addition of the value of the interval was peculiarly convenient to him for another reason. For, as we may have remarked in our examination of his harmonical principles, one of the results of the introduction of harmony was to compel the use of accidentals occasionally on other degrees of the scale than those on which they normally occur, or since the normal accidentals are merely due to an alien notation, we may phrase it, to compel the use of accidentals. For of the three harmonies which he allowed, the 4th and 5th indeed do not necessitate any change in the notes of the scale, but the 8ve immediately does. For owing to the disjunction of the Tetrachords, the play of the octave is not possible as in Modern Music; for in our scale,



the tetrachords go in pairs, as it will be seen, and the lowest note of the first pair is also the lowest note of the second pair, and travels through exactly the same notes, as it progresses upwards, for 8ve and 8ve do but repeat each other. But in the scale of Hucbald there was no pairing of the Tetrachords, but they existed apart and independent, as we may see,



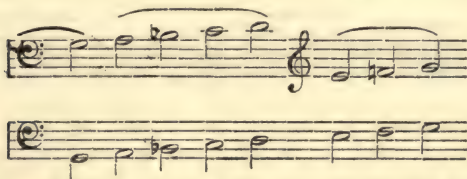
And passages in 8ves, through each note of the 8ve not holding the same position in a similar tetrachord,



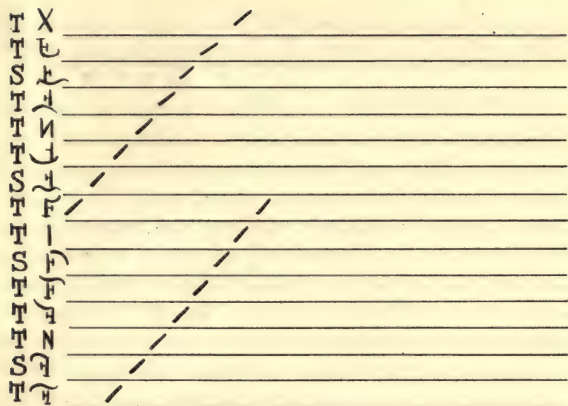
very soon came to discord, as in the following example it will be seen,



It was therefore necessary to raise or depress the upper or the under note of the 8ve at certain places, in order to render this possible, (and generally it seems that the upper one was chosen, because the lower Tetrachords were more important than the higher ones in the estimation of theory), and where we should employ a flat or a natural, as,



Hucbald could most conveniently express it by substituting Tone for Semitone, or Semitone for Tone, at the beginnings of his letters, and thus the original notation could adequately express the 8ve progression without any need to invent new signs, as, writing the above in his notation, it will become,





Now wherever the 8ve occurred, these changes were made, that is to say, not in the 8ve progression alone, but in those doublings of the Instrumental or the Vocal part above or below each other, which we have given as the sequel to his three fundamental harmonies, wherever an 8ve occurred in them—but only there. For the progressions of 5ths and 4ths were the recipients of no such licence—indeed, it was not necessary for them, that is to say, for the 5ths at least; for the progression of 4ths was the weak part of his system, and might have perhaps been improved by the employment of accidentals, that is, if he had dared to employ them, which would at best have been but a clumsy contrivance, and would have helped him but little towards the solution of his difficulty.


For let us for a moment regard the play of 5ths in his harmony, and see how elegantly and easily they move. For taking the scale, and setting the harmony of 5ths to it,




*symphonia deficit*,"<sup>1</sup> "The third note of every Tetrachord, when united with the second of the Tetrachord above,


produces Discord," as  , the third note of




the *Archoos* Tetrachord, united with  the

second note of the *Deuteros* Tetrachord, which is the one above it; or  the third note of the

*Deuteros* Tetrachord, united with  the second

note of the *Tritos* Tetrachord, which is the one above it, and so on. And we shall now see why he employed quite a distinctive and almost unique notation for the third note of every Tetrachord in his variations on the

the letter  $\text{F}$  , representing the  by  $\text{N}$  , the

 by  $\text{I}$  , the  by  $\text{H}$  , and the 

by  $\text{X}$  , all of which though doubtless derivatives of the letter  $\text{F}$  , as it appears first denuded as  $\text{I}$  , are nevertheless so distinctive as to leave no question as to his meaning. And he used this distinction of character, to show at a glance to the singer where the perilous place in the harmony came, so that the proper measures might be taken to avoid it. And let us see what were these measures, and what was the device or licence allowed by Hucbald for avoiding and counteracting this regularly recurring discord. And

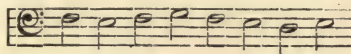
<sup>1</sup> Cap. 17.

they were these: Taking our instance in the lowest

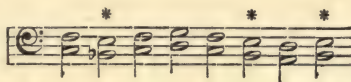
Tetrachord, where the clash was between




let us harmonise the melody



according to his directions, setting it to a harmony of 4ths. And it is plain that if we write it barely down on the model of the harmony of 5ths, we shall have the forbidden interval most discordantly appearing as under:—

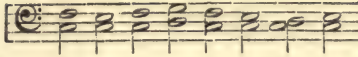


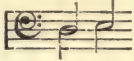
But according to Hucbald's ruling, directly we are on the verge of the forbidden interval, we must let the under part stand still, and so remain till all danger is past. It must not even descend below the dangerous ground, even should a descent of the upper part,

say to , allow a perfect fourth to be formed

beneath it, but for fear the ear should expect another, and this time the Imperfect Fourth, on the passage up again, this descent is forbidden. And if the last note of the melody or the first note chances to provoke the Imperfect Fourth, by being the actual harmony to it, or requiring, as before, a 4th that is beneath it, then the under part must coalesce with the upper part, and end or begin, as the case may be, in unison. So that harmonising the above passage in 4ths, according to Hucbald's rule, we shall find it become,

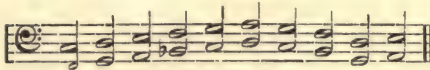




or, as we might have ended it, ; for he

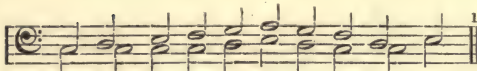
will willingly allow even the two last notes to coalesce, for the sake of the pleasing effect at the close. And now let us give the two examples of this method which he himself offers, and see that they are precisely constructed on these principles:—

## IN FIFTHS.



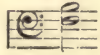
Rex cœ - li do - mi - ne un - di - so - ni.

## IN FOURTHS.

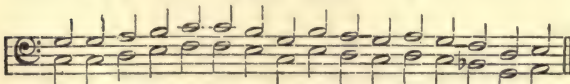


Rex cœ - li do - mi - ne un - di - so - ni.

This is written in the lower Tetrachord; but he has also given an example in the Tetrachord above, where

the forbidden interval is :—

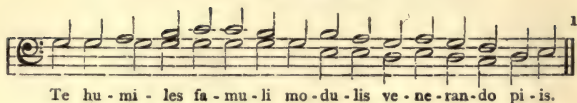
## IN FIFTHS.



Te hu - mi - les fa - mu - li mo - du - lis ve - ne - ran - do pi - is.

<sup>1</sup> Musica Enchiriadis.

## IN FOURTHS.



And this method of according the Fourths was called the "*Diatessaron Symphonia*," or "Harmonising of the Fourths," and began to spread along with the rest of Hucbald's system through the monasteries of Europe. For the pleasing effect that was introduced into music by the symphony of voices according to his principles, (for though he speaks of one part of his harmony as the Instrumental part, having regard to the origin from whence he derived his idea, yet he soon learns to view the possibility of voices alone performing the harmony,<sup>2</sup> and recommends the trial of it from his cell to the world outside), and, I say that the pleasing effects of his melodious symphonies<sup>3</sup> secured a ready welcome for them among the monks; and through many of the German monasteries, and especially in that of Reichenau, and throughout all the Italian monasteries, were Hucbald's teachings practised.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, and in these strange and studious surroundings, was the New Music of the world being laboriously formed, while the people were dancing and junketting in the villages beyond. And what was attracting most attention among the vulgar now, was a new dance that had just come from Spain, and was said to have been

<sup>1</sup> Ib.

<sup>2</sup> De Harmonica Institutione. "Cum virilis et puerilis vox pariter sonuerit," &c.

<sup>3</sup> Enchiriad. 14. "Videbis suavem ex hac sonorum commixtione nasci concentum."

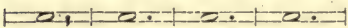
<sup>4</sup> Ambros. Geschichte der Musik. I.

brought there by the Moors, And it was called the Morrice Dance, because the men who danced it had their faces stained with walnut juice, to look like Moors,<sup>1</sup> and on many of the simple country people they passed themselves off as such. And they were dressed up in curiously slashed doublets of chamois leather, and green caps with silver tassels, red ribands also and white shoes, while all their dress was covered with little bells, that jingled and jangled as they danced. They had bells at their knees, and round their ankles, and bells at their wrists, and bells on the lappets of their doublets; streams of bells hung all over their body, and to be proper morricers they must have 252 bells in all. And these were arranged in 21 sets of 12 bells each, that were tuned in musical intervals with each other. And bells of certain tones hung down one side of their body, and bells of other tones down the other side, and according to the motions of their body as they danced they might make melodious jingles. And they clashed naked swords also as they danced, and this was the sight that attracted the country people at their fairs and merry-makings, crowding round to see the Moors dance, that had come all the way from Spain on a dancing tour through Europe. And at another side of the fair the clatter of castanets would betoken another Spanish dance in motion, and if this were the *Chica* being danced here, it was a dance that would do the people no good to see it. For it was danced by a woman and a man, and was most amorous in its motions. She with panting breast and flashing eyes cracked her castanets, and invited him with every motion in her power to wantonness and caresses, while he, beating a

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<sup>1</sup> Thoinet Arbeau's Orchesographie.

tambourine the while, would now seize her in his arms, and now fling her from him, and the most amorous play, the closest embraces, were the ordinary accompaniments of the dance.<sup>1</sup> Or here the real Gitana, who now first begins to appear in Europe, with her sunburnt face, and tricked up with gay ribbons and gaudy dress, tinkling her tambourine, and pirouetting and footing it to earn a few pence from the gaping crowd.<sup>2</sup> And the fair days and the sights they would bring, would not be without their influence on the dances of the villagers themselves. And many a step would they pick up from the odd dances from abroad, and clowns would foot it behind the hayrick in clumsy mimicry of the artful poses they had seen the strangers make. Also we must allow for the gradual development of dancing itself, for it is plain that even without any aid from without, new steps and new figures would grow up, and the original stock of steps, that is to say,  $\cup$  — and —  $\cup$ , would be increased by new ones, even as we saw new steps grow up in the times of the ancient Greeks. But that the Morrice Dance was danced to long notes of Triple Time we know, as

 <sup>3</sup> and the rhythm of the music, though not of the feet, was — | — | — | — |. And doubtless this disposition of the music was to allow the jingling bells to be heard in the interim between the sounding of each note, but the feet may

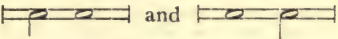
<sup>1</sup> Due castagnette di sonoro lasso



Tien nelle man la giovinetta ardita, &c.

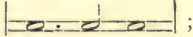
The description is from Marino.

<sup>2</sup> Bansatrices, vel forte dansatrices, ut volunt aliqui, est id genus mulierum vagantium atque mendicantium, quas vulgus appellant Ægyptias sive Bohemias, quæ latrociniiis et saltationibus omnino deditæ sunt, &c. Ducange. Gloss.

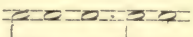
<sup>3</sup> Thoinet Arbeau's Orchesographie.

have pattered with the bells, for these long notes would have been too staid a step. So partly from without and partly springing up of themselves, new rhythms and new steps appeared in the dances, and passed from thence into the Songs, which we have seen were all in Triple time; and as yet we have found them in these two measures 

arising from the dancing steps,  $\cup$  — and —  $\cup$ . But now this new step appeared in the dances, —  $\cup$  —, and yet we must not go to interpret it as exactly of the pattern of the Greek Pæon, , though it approaches it, but rather as identical with that step, the Double Skip, which we found appearing in the dances of the most primitive times of history, with which in fact it is precisely identical; for the rhythm of the Double Skip was 







and this is the same, though we shall write it in longer notes ; and it may have sprung up as naturally here as there. And there was another step which is also very nearly the same as a well known Greek one, namely, one of the Bacchiuses,  $\cup$   $\cup$  — —, but was paused on at the second short step, and must

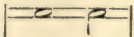
therefore be written in music 

And yet another which bears as much resemblance to the Dochmius of the Greeks as the other two to the Bacchius and Pæon, though like them not precisely identical:  $\cup$  — —  $\cup$  —, for all the long steps in it were not of exactly similar length, as in the Dochmius, but the second was paused on, as in the preceding cases, and in musical characters it is 

And in these rhythms of medieval dancing, we miss

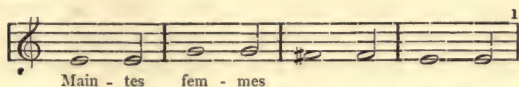


the lightness of the true Greek treading, for what can be lighter, as we have often said, than  and  and ? but in the lengthening of one of the steps in the medieval measures, , , and , there is a heaviness, we might almost say a clumsiness, which speaks of other *figurantes* than lithe youths and Dorian maidens.

And the dances and the melodious songs that accompanied them (for singing as they danced, the melodies would soon weave themselves to the rhythms of the feet), attracted the attention of learned men, who began to find that a new power in music was arising from the light-heartedness and laughter of the people. For that weak rhythm of the Hymn was all that was known in the cloisters, which indeed was the dying strain of a past most glorious symphony; but here was a new world of beauty and of strength growing up fast beneath them. And among the rest who were drawn to think on this new appearance in music, was a learned monk of Cologne, named Franco, who laboriously collected the popular melodies of his time; and it is from his works, indeed, that we have drawn the account of them that we have given above. And he found Five different rhythms employed in them, and these he named Measures, and they are known in history as the Five Measures of Franco.<sup>1</sup> And most of these we have given already, but we may set them down here in the order and form in which he gives them. And the First Measure was composed of a Long and a Short, — 

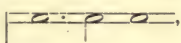
<sup>1</sup> Franco of Cologne. *Musica et Cantus Mensurabilis*. Cap. III.

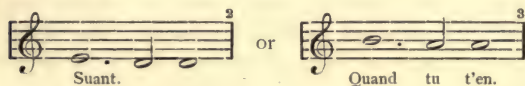
and as an example of this we may take the following :—

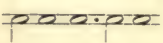
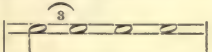


And the Second Measure was the converse of this, being composed of a short and a long,  $\cup$  —, and an example of this we have already given, when speaking of the earliest popular songs, which at first were exclusively in this measure :



And the Third Measure was the quasi-Pæon, —  $\cup$  —, which in musical characters was . And a complete example of this measure has not been preserved to us, but only isolated measures of it, as




And the Fourth Measure was the quasi-Dochmius,  $\cup$  — —  $\cup$  —, in musical characters  and no instance of this has been preserved. And the Fifth Measure was the rhythm that approximated to the Greek Bacchius,  $\cup$   $\cup$  — —, .

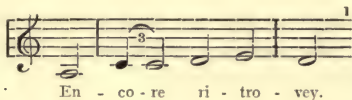
<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Ambros' *Geschichte der Musik*. II. 288.


<sup>2</sup> Fragment from the *Pseudo-Bede*.


<sup>3</sup> From *Tinctoris' Proportionale*.

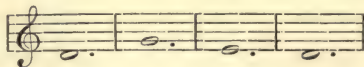
which Franco however shortens by half its value, compared to our way of writing it, and makes it occupy the same time as the First or Second Measure; so that doubtless it was a light tripping measure that always was taken fast, and we must write it

, and we have an example of this in the fragment,



And now to the First Measure he added a new one, which doubtless he took from ecclesiastical music, for he would make his system all-embracing, so as to include all the rhythms of the music of his time; and it was scarcely a rhythm indeed, as we may suppose, being but a succession of notes all of the same length, as was the common manner of singing in the Gregorian or the Sequence Style, and this he introduced into his First Measure, on the following principle, that each of these notes of equal length should be reckoned equal in value to the whole of his First Measure, and henceforth the First Measure was constituted either by a long and a short, ,

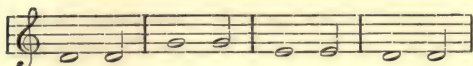
or by one long equal in value to both,<sup>2</sup> which we may write , as this passage is in the First Measure,



no less than this,

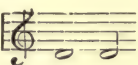
<sup>1</sup> Fragment from Franco.

<sup>2</sup> Franco, Cantus Mensurabilis. Cap. III.



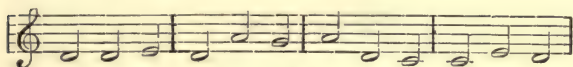
And now let us notice what admirable use he made of this new introduction, which indeed his researches in rhythm enabled him to do, for he might now pass from being the collector and arranger to be the

promulgator of principles. For since 

was equal to , then it was also equal to

, and therefore  was

also included in the First Measure.



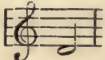
And such a breaking up of the regular steps would doubtless often occur in the dance, since it occasions no disturbance of the time, and we can readily imagine dances composed of this step alone. As it certainly is found in the songs of the period, which do but reflect the motions of the steps, one of which Franco quotes:—

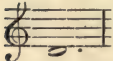



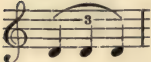
where it is combined with the Fifth Measure, as we

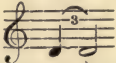
<sup>1</sup> Franco, Cantus Mensurabilis. Cap. IX.

have indicated. And next he proceeded to build his last principle on the same basis as the foregoing; for

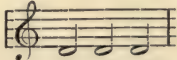
proceeding with  as he had done with


, he found that  was equal to

, since in the Fifth Measure it is shown

equal to , which obviously suggests the

breaking up into the form indicated. Room therefore must be found in the First Measure for this new

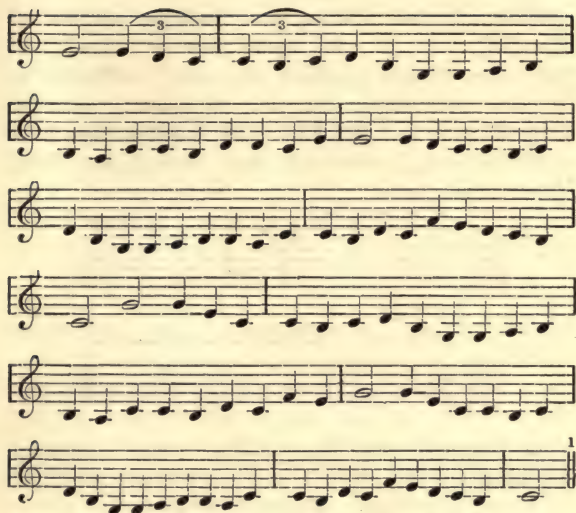
equivalent; and as  was reckoned in the

First Measure, so also was 

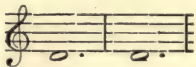
its equivalent, reckoned in it too,<sup>1</sup> and with this last addition the system of Franco was complete. And such a rhythm as this last might certainly have been heard in the music of the dances, though feet could scarcely have been so fleet as to make to every note a tread. And there is a Dance tune belonging to a period but a little later than the present, some half a century or less, which will let us see that even his theories were no mere theories, but the careful results of widespread observation, which he had extended to every corner of the music of his time.

<sup>1</sup> Franco. Cantus Mens. loc. cit.






And how admirable is the classification which ranks this

measure under the same head as  &c.,

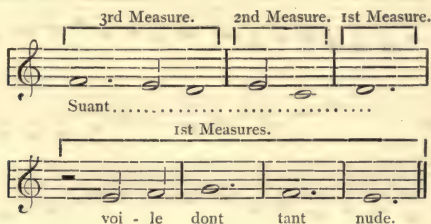
which seems to beat on all the time! or what better union of refined speculation with happy practical results could we choose than this application? And here it will be noticed that the forms of the measures are sometimes mixed, finding as we do in the same piece

the form  and the form

, nor does he pretend it to be

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Musica Antiqua*.

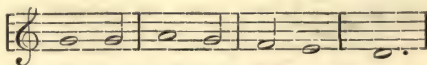
otherwise, for his measures pass from the strictness of unvarying metre to the signification of "Bars," and thus even different measures are found sometimes in the same piece, as in the piece we quoted, where the First Measure and the Fifth were found combined, or in the following, where the First, Second, and Third Measures are found:—



or in this, where the First, Second, Third and Fifth are found:—



for not only will dancers change their steps in the same dance, but makers of songs their measures more so, to gain variety or to comply with the demands of language, which sometimes requires an Iambic Measure in the midst of a Trochaic, as in the following,



<sup>1</sup> From Tinctoris' Proportionale.

and other changes in like manner. But whatever rhythms were employed in the time of Franco are faithfully reflected in his measures, and we may rest assured, if we find no more than these, that the world knew as yet no others. So extensive and complete are his labours, and so harmonious is the result to which he has fetched confusion.

And pausing to contemplate his system, he could not but be struck by the fact that all the Time was Triple, and that the Number 3 indeed shines through as the motive and sustaining power of the whole. For the composition of the First Measure is typified by the single note, which contains three inferior ones, and these, each three inferior ones again; while the other form, that is, the trochaic form of it, is likewise similarly composed. And so of the Second Measure, and of the other measures in like manner, the composition of which is easily seen to rest on groupings or constituents of three. And the pious Franco found in this a direct manifestation of the Trinity,<sup>1</sup> and it pleased him to imagine that he had been the means of unveiling one of the processes of its operation. Which indeed might well be conceived to a mystical mind to be the direct effectuator of the Art of Music, since Triple Time was holding complete empire over the world, and now had even passed to the cloisters of the monks. They, too, now wrote their melodious music in Triple Time, rendered ten times more melodious by this soft influence, for Triple Time is the Time of gaiety and joy, and how does it melt even the sternest strains to tenderness! So that we well may choose to give an instance of this new enhancement of their beauty, and we will take an

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<sup>1</sup> Franco. *Cantus Mensurabilis*. Cap. 4.

"*Agnus fili*," which is written in the First Measure of Franco:—

Ag - nus, fi - li vir - gi - nis, pri - mi.....

lap - sum..... ho - mi - nis res -

- tau - rans per san - gui - nis tu -

i..... sanc - ti..... pas - cu - i, mi -

- se - re - re..... no - - bis.....

And this then would be sung in the cloisters, and it might perhaps be accompanied by the organ or by a harmony of voices in the melodious symphonies of Hucbald, and then what new beauty would be heard! For most of the monks, as we have said, had welcomed his harmonies, and the organists were trained to practise it, accompanying the voices in 5ths, 4ths, or 8ves, or in those other doubled progressions of these intervals, that so much enriched the concord. And the tones of the organs in these days were singularly sweet and mellow. They said they were like flutes in sound, or the warbling of nightingales,<sup>2</sup> for they were mostly

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque de Lille. MS. 95. (Quoted in Coussemaker harmonised. *Histoire de l'Harmonie*.)

<sup>2</sup> "Velut lusciniæ sonabant calami."

small<sup>1</sup>—some of them so small as to be portable—and very delicately and almost fastidiously made. Some organs we read of in the monasteries, whose pipes were made of pure gold,<sup>2</sup> and all had their pipes gilded, and their woodwork tricked up with colours and devices.<sup>3</sup> And some, as we say, were so small as to be easily carried about; these were called the *Portatives*: while others were of heavier build, and could not be moved, which were called the *Positive*, or “Stationary” Organs. And both kinds were used in the monasteries.

And the history of the Organ since last we left it has been as follows:—For after that rare and wonderful organ, which Charlemagne caused to be constructed on the models of the Byzantine Ambassadors, and the tone of which was so sweet that some were reported to have fallen into ecstasies when they heard it, as if celestial harmony had descended to their ears;<sup>4</sup> organs of a similar pattern began to be built through France and Germany, as we have mentioned before. But whether it were that such an organ was rather a delightful plaything, than a valuable aid to the services of the church, the organs of Charlemagne’s time were not of a very great longevity, and by the time of his son, Louis the Pious, we hear of a new era in organ building, which was inaugurated by the arrival of George the Venetian, a learned priest, at the

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<sup>1</sup> See Clément’s *Histoire De la Musique Religieuse*, where the idea is rightly put forward, though with but little direct evidence to support it. *Historici moderni, qui scribunt de organis clavibusque giganticis, plane desipiunt.*

<sup>2</sup> In certain German monasteries the tradition runs so. See Gerbert. II. At Constantinople such organs were not uncommon. Cf. the accounts in George the Monk, Constantine. *De Vita Basil. Maced.* &c.

<sup>3</sup> “*Auratis capsis,*” &c. Adhelm. *De laude virginum.*

<sup>4</sup> There is an epigram extant concerning the effects of this organ.



court of that monarch.<sup>1</sup> Such success did George have with the organs that he built, that Louis ordered wood and metal and all the essentials for organ building to be placed freely at his disposal,<sup>2</sup> and with these he doubtless built the organs for the royal chapels throughout the empire. Most organs of this date, at least in France and Germany, were probably built on the pattern of George's organs, if not in great part under his superintendence. And his organs were all water organs of the ancient form, and not provided with bellows as well,<sup>3</sup> in the manner of Charlemagne's organs. Perhaps it was this very addition of bellows to the hydraulic mechanism that had proved a precarious and unsound contrivance in Charlemagne's organs, and was the cause of their comparatively early desuetude. At any rate, with George the Venetian we notice a retrogression in the art of organ building, as if, after due trial of a new invention, the old form was by preference reverted to, as being the safer and more manageable. And so it continued for some time to come, though we cannot doubt that many experiments were made with bellows in the meanwhile, both in conjunction with water perhaps, and certainly by themselves. For the application of bellows to organs, which is a most natural one, was known, though but rarely acted on, even in the childhood of organ building, that is, in the days of the later Roman Emperors. On the obelisk of Theodosius there is a representation of an organ blown solely by bellows, and the Emperor Julian, who lived about twenty years before his time, has thought the bellows-organ worth

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<sup>1</sup> Eginhard. *Annales*. ad. a. 826.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> "Hydraulica" is the utmost we are told about them. Had there been bellows, they would have been mentioned.

making a conundrum about;<sup>1</sup> so that probably the application of bellows to organs had first been thought of about his time. Yet it was rarely if ever acted on, as we say, partly because of the insufficiency of power in bellows compared to that of hydraulic pressure, for in thinking of bellows we must imagine the identical bellows, and no other, which are used at our own firesides to-day, and partly because of the unsteadiness of blowing, which bellows of so primitive a form can never be free of, and which was so admirably obviated by the contrivance already in use of pistons and levers passing a continuous current of air through water. For these reasons, I say, the bellows-organ was put aside, as an invention that would come to nothing, almost without being tried at all, and even the attempt to make a compromise between it and the water-organ, which we have seen in the organ of Charlemagne, was abandoned after a time as hopeless. So it was when George the Venetian re-introduced the original water-organ into France, as we have mentioned, which doubtless was the form that had been retained in Italy without any change all along. But within a century after George's time, the home of organ building, from what cause we know not, had passed from Italy and France to Germany.<sup>2</sup> Italy indeed had so far lost its prestige that scarce an organ was built there,<sup>3</sup> and we have Pope John VIII. writing from Rome to Bishop Anno in Germany, "Send me the best organ you can procure, and along with it a tuner, for we have none here."<sup>4</sup> And with Germany, England also appears as a

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<sup>1</sup> "Pipes springing up from a brazen soil. Bellows blow them, not breath. Fingers are at work beneath their roots." This is the conundrum, and doubtless was a hard one.

<sup>2</sup> Gerbert. II. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.

centre of organ building,<sup>1</sup> and whether we must ascribe it to the mechanical genius of these nations, or whether we must not rather consider that they were less tied to traditions of workmanship than the Latin nations, and so more disposed to make innovations and improvements, certain it is that the bellows now begins to appear as the feeder of the organ, instead of the hydraulic mechanism, which had held its own so long. And the unsteadiness and weakness of the bellows was obviated in this way—many bellows were used, that so while one was filling another could be exhausting, and thus a constant current of air could be kept up. Or rather there were two ways to counteract the deficiencies of bellows:—the first was to use many bellows, as we have said, the second was to make the organ so small that one pair of bellows was sufficient to feed it. And both these plans were adopted, and the first tended to produce enormous organs, far larger than any water organ, while the second produced organs supremely diminutive. For in the first case it is plain that since the supply of wind was unlimited, now that the idea had occurred of multiplying bellows indefinitely, there was no limit also to the size of the organ. And a remarkable spirit that was passing over the Architecture of this period, was loudly calling large organs into requisition. For speaking of a century or more after the time of George the Venetian, who lived in the reign of Louis the Pious, this will bring us to the end of the 9th century, or the beginning of the 10th, when the great Romanesque churches were beginning to cover the land. And what could a puny organ do in the illimitable vaults of their roofs or the deserts of their aisles! Organs therefore began to grow with the

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<sup>1</sup> Our account of the largest organ comes from there.

churches, and immense organs were the consequence. In place of one pipe to every note, ten were now employed,<sup>1</sup> so as to ring out the note into the empty space around. Even the compass of the organs was extended far beyond the limits of the actual scale, and two players were employed, to double one another in their accompaniments to the voices.<sup>2</sup> And the organ itself grew in this accession to its strength, not only in its case, which it plainly must, if only to contain the numerous pipes, but the very keys were made larger and broader. That compass of eight notes, which at first could easily be spanned by the thumb and little finger, could now scarcely be included by the outstretched arms.<sup>3</sup> With their fists, even, were the players compelled to strike the broad flat keys,<sup>4</sup> while round the organ rows of bellows stood like casks, sometimes thirty in number, and two or more bellows-blowers to each.<sup>5</sup>

This was the development the Organ was pursuing in the Churches, and under the influence of the gigantic Romanesque architecture, which was now rising in heavy piles on Europe. But in the monasteries its course was a different one. For the monastic chapels were small by comparison to these enormous churches, and organs of moderate size were sufficient for them, and these, as I have said, they call the Positives, or "Stationary" Organs, as also were the great Church Organs Positives, as will well be understood. But the chapels were also often furnished with Portatives, or

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<sup>1</sup> In the epigram of Volstanus Diaconus each *lingua* or "key," commands 10 pipes. "*Inque suo retinet ordine quæque decem.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> Prætorius. *Syntagma Musicum.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>5</sup> In Volstanus' account, 26 bellows: *Bisseni supra sociantur ordine folles, Inferiusque jacent quattuor atque decem.*

"Portable" Organs, which could be easily lifted from place to place, and at the practice of the choir it was customary to place these in front of the Positive Organ, and for the organist to sit between, playing now on one, now on the other, as he was rehearsing the boys in their parts, or showing them on the Positive how the piece would sound in the service.<sup>1</sup>

But we have yet to speak of that third development of the organ, whereby it became dwarfed and stunted to a little thing, so small and so diminutive, that it could be held in the palm of the hand. And it arose, as we have said, in the adaptation of bellows to the organ, which might be done in two ways, either by multiplying and increasing the bellows to the necessities of the organ, or by diminishing the organ to the capabilities of the bellows. And in the present case the latter plan was followed, and dwarf organs were the result. And these tiny organs had but six notes to them,<sup>2</sup> and were so light, as we have said, that they could be held in the palm of the hand. And they had a pair of bellows at the back, which the player could work with his left arm, holding them in the fold of his elbow, while he played the keys with his right hand, supporting the instrument on the palm of his left. And they puled and piped so melodiously, that every one was glad to hear them—dainty little mechanisms, artful toys, that yet would make rare harmony. They are the triflings of the Middle Ages, and many such musical follies of mechanic might we set down here; for philosophers in their studies were not above coquetting with invention, and devising quaint

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<sup>1</sup> Clément. *Histoire de la Musique Religieuse*. cf. Gerbert. II. 191., of which this is the elucidation.

<sup>2</sup> I have seen 6 and also 7 keys in Regals in MSS., and never more.



oddities of music, like these little Regals, for so were the tiny organs called, because they "regaled" and refreshed the ear of all who heard them, they sang so merrily. And some devised musical clocks, and the art of clock making has always been connected with that of organ making, and indeed at the beginning, as we have seen, they were both the same; and the musical clocks marked the hours by sounds of music and by dances, and in some of them there was a rich sonorous bell to do this, and a number of small balls in a recess of the clock; and at one o'clock one ball fell on the bell, at two o'clock two, at three, three, and so on, and directly the sound of the bell had ceased, twelve prancing horsemen, armed *cap-à-pie*, capered out of the clock, and pranced along beneath its face, in rhythmic motions to the measure of its ticking.<sup>1</sup> And in others of the clocks two cavaliers issued out at the hours in mimic tourney, and gave one another as many blows on tinkling armour as was the number of the hour to be sounded. And in this way the philosophers and mechanics amused themselves in their studies with their musical mechanic; of whom chief was Gerbert, who was Archbishop of Rheims, and afterwards became Pope under the title of Sylvester II. He was the most learned mechanic of his age, and had invented sun-dials, and hour-glasses, and was the first who applied weights to clocks: he also invented the escapement. And he had studied under the Arabian doctors at Cordova, which was now the centre of all the learning of Europe, and knew how to make celestial spheres with the horizon, and representation of the heavenly bodies, and to calculate the meridian, and the circumference of the earth.

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<sup>1</sup> The description is in Eginhard.

And they say that he had constructed a Speaking Head, that is, a head made of brass, which could speak, and answer him questions about futurity. And, in the privacy of his chamber he had made organs that could play of themselves, without human finger touching the keys; and these were worked by boiling water, which forced jets of steam into the pipes, that opened and closed according to a mechanism of clockwork that he had invented;<sup>1</sup> and by these and other inventions he was reputed a magician by the vulgar. But he was also a most learned master of music, and was called Gerbert the Musician by his contemporaries. He was the author of the beautiful Sequence, "*Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*," and of the responsorium, "*O Juda et Jerusalem*." And such tunes as these he would doubtless make his magic organs to play, and we are told that the sound of these organs was singularly sweet and mellow.

But more sweet and more harmonious than any trick of philosophic mechanic could strike out, were the organs of the monasteries, which had gradually developed by the slow steps we have seen. And they had not shared that lust for bigness which had brought the Church and Cathedral Organs to such enormous size, but had remained of moderate proportions, and therefore of excellent tone. For there must have been great rawness and coarseness in those immense organs, as piping querulousness in the regals; but these came between, and were the perfection of the organ building of the time. And it was about the end of the 11th century that the monks took diligently to organ building.<sup>2</sup> Sigo, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Florentius

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<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury. II. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Gerbert. II. 142.

at Ligeris in the middle of that century, began it, and his example found many imitators in the various monasteries of Europe.<sup>1</sup> And it will surprise us to find how much these organs were like our own: indeed in all essential respects they were the same; and the complete furnishings of the organ parts were manufactured in the monasteries, even down to the smelting of the metals of which the pipes were made.<sup>2</sup> And the pipes were made of lead or copper, but generally of copper.<sup>3</sup> And the building-frame and all the interior wood-work was made of plane wood;<sup>4</sup> and the construction of the organ, as I say, was in all respects similar to our own. There was first a frame which contained the bellows, and the wind passed from thence into the wind-chest, not indeed by a wind-trunk, as with us, but by a number of holes communicating with the bellows, which answered the same purpose.<sup>5</sup> Above the wind-chest there was another frame containing the grooves, the upper-board, and, fitted on to this, the pipes. And this was all closed in with a bottom made of plane wood, which was furnished with contrivances similar to our pallets, by which the wind might pass from the wind-chest into the grooves. And above the grooves came the upper-board, as we have said, in which the pipes were set. But instead of being made of continuous pieces, as with us, the upper-board was made of several separate pieces of wood, each groove having its separate piece above it, and in this its pipe or pipes were set. And the keys acted much as in

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<sup>1</sup> Ib.

<sup>2</sup> So we must judge from the account of Theophilus the Monk, who gives the minutest directions for making the pipes.

<sup>3</sup> Theoph. the Monk. *De Diversis Artibus*. III. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 82.

<sup>5</sup> In superiore parte vero lateris fiant cavaturæ, per quas flatus ad fistulas posset pervenire, Ib.

our organs, that is to say, with pull-downs passing through the wind-chest, and drawing down pallets, which allowed the wind to pass at once into the grooves.<sup>1</sup> But in other respects their action was simpler, for there were no stickers or back-falls, but the key communicated direct with the pull-down, and for the purpose of working it, was made to move a little outwards each time it was pressed,<sup>2</sup> by which contrivance the pull-down, which was fastened to it, and ran slanting through the wind-chest up to the pallet, was drawn down a little, and so opened the pallet, which admitted the wind to the groove. Now to prevent the keys coming out too far each time they were pressed, pins were placed in them where we place our pins, so that the key came forward to such a point, and then, when the finger was lifted, it flew back again to its original position.<sup>3</sup> And in this way was the mechanism of the key-action contrived. But as to how the stops acted, on this point we receive no information, though probably it was now by the same cross slides as with us. And if we were right in imagining that slides were once the action by which the keys worked, then we must agree, that with the discovery of a new and neater key-action, the old action had been appropriated to the stops. And the keys had their names written on them,<sup>4</sup> that is to say, either according to the notation of Hucbald, or according to the old notation of letters from A to P, which was instituted by Boëthius, with the necessary changes to accommodate it to the alterations which had occurred since his time in the

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<sup>1</sup> Theoph. De Diversis Artibus. loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> We must necessarily assume this from the words, "educuntur," "extrahuntur," &c.

<sup>3</sup> "Clavi capitati." Ib.

<sup>4</sup> In caudis linguarum scribantur literæ, &c.

scale. For we hear of "letters" placed on the keys, and therefore cannot think of Neumes being employed, which indeed would have been entirely impracticable, since they denoted no fixed notes, but were used indiscriminately at any degree of the scale; though in general music they were still by far the commonest mode of writing. And the bellows were still apparently of the primitive shape, though larger, and worked with long handles, much in the manner of our own.<sup>1</sup> And several might be used, as we have said before, and the case was increased or diminished in size according to their requirements. And above the organ was suspended a canopy of drapery to keep the dust out of the pipes, which might be drawn up to the roof, and let down. And it was always drawn up during the playing.<sup>2</sup>

Such were the organs used in monasteries during the 11th century, and, as will be seen, they evince the highest mechanical skill in the construction of them. It was an age of mechanics, and the sudden development of the organ from its rude to its almost perfect form, is but an aspect of the energy which was working in other fields as well. The construction of new military engines, the perforation of rocks, and throwing of bridges, the invention of clocks and compasses, is well reflected in the labours of the organ builders; and from the Pope, toying with regals in his chamber, down to the monks, fashioning wood and metal in the monasteries, the same skill seems to have actuated all. And the method of organ playing in the monasteries will also be interesting to consider; for besides the

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<sup>1</sup> See the illustrations in Strutt's *Horda*.

<sup>2</sup> Theophilus, III. 83.



harmonies of Hucbald, which the organ played to the voices, the fashion of preluding was now not uncommon, and the organist before the antiphon or hymn began would extemporise an introduction to it, conceived after the manner of what was to follow: nay, sometimes during the singing of the hymn itself he would intersperse organ music, for he would repeat each line after the choir, varying the tones occasionally as it suited his fancy, till at last a regular interlude began to be employed between each line of the hymn.<sup>1</sup> And in this, as will be seen, there was much licence and departure from the simplicity of the ancient style, and though some might esteem it a beauty, it was in reality a meretricious adornment that boded no good to the purity of song. And from their delight in these interludes and preludes, the monks would sometimes not be content that one of their own number should be the organist, but would search out men skilled in organ playing, even lay brothers, or monks from other monasteries, that the music might be most skilfully performed.<sup>2</sup> For indeed it seems as if something worldly were now finding its way into the sternness of their discipline, and that they were passing from regarding their music as the voice of holy rapture, to consider it as a delightful pastime, which by all means they must cultivate and improve. Thus, their singing practices were now much more lengthy than of yore; they taught the choir boys also to abstain from food before the services on great festival days, that their voices might sound the

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<sup>1</sup> Gerbert. II. 186. An interesting specimen of this practice is to be found in the hymn, "*Ortum predestinatio.*" British Museum. MS. No. 29. (11th century.)

<sup>2</sup> Gerbert II. 171.

sweeter;<sup>1</sup> and, indeed, when we think of the rich tones of their organs, and the new allurements to beautiful music which Harmony and that free organ playing offered, we cannot wonder that these worldly thoughts should be finding their way into monkish cells. Then, too, the convents were much more open to the general world than they had used to be. Travellers and itinerants of all sorts could often reckon on a night's lodging in a monastery; and as the monks crowded down to the refectory of a morning after Tierce was over, they might not seldom have the sight of one of those strange itinerants, the Wandering Minstrels, who were now first beginning to appear in Europe—men who strolled from village to village and from fair to fair, playing at the dances of the country people, or stopping occasionally at lords' castles, where a song and a tune were sure to be repaid by a dinner. And sometimes, as we said, they appeared even in the cloisters of the monasteries.<sup>2</sup> And one of these, I say, the monks might sometimes see of a morning among the other strangers in the refectory, warming himself at the fire, or taking the snatch of breakfast which the liberality of the monastery afforded; and great would be the contrast between the careless stroller and the cowled recluses, who regarded him, perhaps at some little distance, with dubious looks. And there he sat in his threadbare gown of blue, with lute and wallet slung at his back, the picture of thoughtless gaiety. His face has seen many weathers, and his wallet looks empty enough; yet he makes very light of it,

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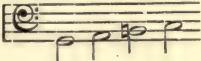
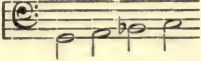
<sup>1</sup> Id.

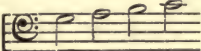
<sup>2</sup> See Warton's *History of Poetry*, I. 82. for references in support of this assertion.

as the feather in his cap shows, and the lappet of a handkerchief, marked with a true love and a heart, that peeps out of his bosom. What jaunty vanity is this, and emblems of profane things found amid the sanctity of the cloisters! Yet fifty years hence, perhaps, shall tell a different tale, and stories begin to be heard of monks themselves abandoning the cloisters, and minstrels with cowls and shaven crowns, when the age of minstrels in earnest begins.

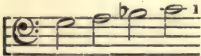

But, in the meantime, though discipline was relaxing, it had not relaxed so far, and meanwhile had only affected the services, which, despite the apparent pains bestowed on them, were not so well performed as they had used to be. And this was partly to be attributed to the prominence of organ playing, as we have said, and particularly to those interludes and preludes, which were dangerous things. For listening to variations on the tunes they sang, would tend to corrupt the recollection of the tunes in the minds of singers, while careless choristers would get to rely on the help which the organ afforded them in suggesting the run of the melody, instead of trusting entirely to the notes of the service books before them. And this tendency was encouraged by the difficulties which the service books themselves presented. For the music was still written in neumes, despite the changes in the scale and the introduction of Harmony into music; and great perplexity was the consequence. The notation of Hucbald had not received such diffusion as the rest of his musical system; and an old style of writing had to serve the general turn, in which there were no distinctions of tone and semitone, no apt expression of harmonies, and no indication of pitch, so that the singers might know at what portion of

the scale their voice was travelling. And the sense of these deficiencies, and particularly of the first, that is, the distinction of tone and semitone, was much aggravated by the growing use of accidentals in the scale, which the octave harmony had been the cause of initiating. For owing, to the influence of this harmony, the lowest tetrachord of the scale was as

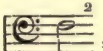
often sung  as ,

to be in keeping with the upper 8ve, ,

which in its turn was often sung with the B flat,

, while the F sharp, 

was most commonly transformed into F natural, to

be in keeping with the F natural below, ,

and the other accidentals in the same way. Indeed, we may say that the scale was in a transition state again, on the road to its final form; and, with nothing to mark the occurrence of the semitones, great was the confusion that ensued. Ten years, it was said, were necessary to familiarise the boys with the intricacies of the Neume notation, so as to enable them to sing easily from book;<sup>3</sup> and the teachers, it seems, found no less difficulties than the scholars. So that it was no wonder that singing by ear and following the organ became so universal

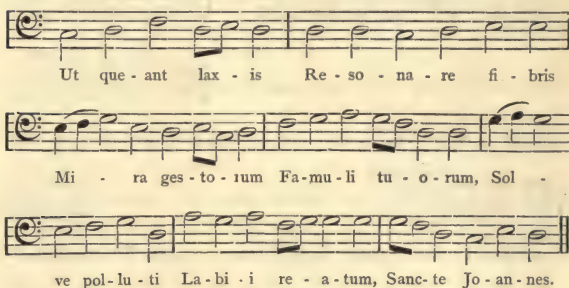
<sup>1</sup> See the scale on p.—*Infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> *Epistola Guidonis De Ignoto Cantu.*

a practice, that in many choirs the service books were scarcely opened at all.

Such then was the state of things in music, when it happened that a monk, named Guido, of the monastery of Arezzo in Tuscany, sitting one evening at vespers in the chapel of his monastery, heard the Hymn to St. John the Baptist being sung by the choir. And this is the hymn which he heard:—

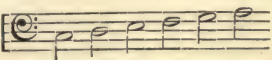


Ut que - ant lax - is Re - so - na - re fi - bris

Mi - ra ges - to - rum Fa - mu - li tu - o - rum, Sol -

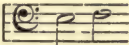
ve pol - lu - ti La - bi - i re - a - tum, Sanc - te Jo - an - nes.

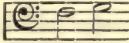
And he noticed that the first syllable of each succeeding line was exactly one note above that of the line before it, and that the syllable of the fourth line, *Famuli tuorum*, was a semitone above the third, but all the others were tones. And taking the notes of these syllables he found they made up together six notes of the scale, namely, from C to A,

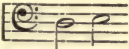
i.e. , having the semitone

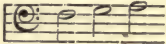
E F in the middle. And it seemed to him that if he were to take these notes as a formula, and apply them to the various music that was to be sung, he would be able perfectly to show when tone and when semitone occurred, which was the great perplexity of the musical notation of the time. For above




each semitone he would set , and above

each tone, if it followed a semitone, 



or if it preceded,  or if two tones



followed, , and so on. But in order


to prevent the suggestion of pitch by any of these notes, he must not use the letters of Boëthius to indicate them, or the figures of Hucbald, both of which would denote certain degrees of the scale; but he must find names for them, which had nothing to do with musical associations. And what could be better than the very syllables of the hymn to which each note was sung? Indeed, thinking over his divine discovery, after it had flashed across him, and had become quite clear to his mind, he could not but regard it as a direct inspiration from St. John himself, and accordingly he determined to consecrate it by names drawn from his hymn. In

this way, , which was sung to the first syllable of the line,

*Ut queant laxis,*

became *Ut*;  (*Resonare fibris*) *Re*; 

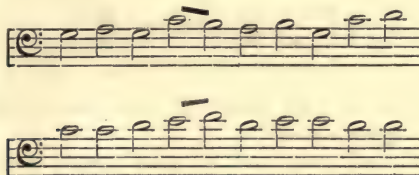
(*Mira gestorum*) *Mi*;  *Fa*;  *Sol*;

 *La*, in like manner, each from the first



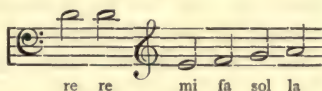
## CHAPTER II.

course of the music, and at different pitches from each other, as to take the first instance, and extend it as an example:—

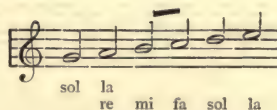


in that case the formula *mi fa* must be repeated for the higher one as well, although its pitch be different, and a new set of notes run into the other thus:—

*Ut re ut fa mi re mi ut fa sol fa fa re mi fa re mi mi re re*, which might be extended upwards, if the music so went,

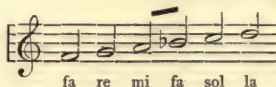


to the completion of the set. Or did it still continue,



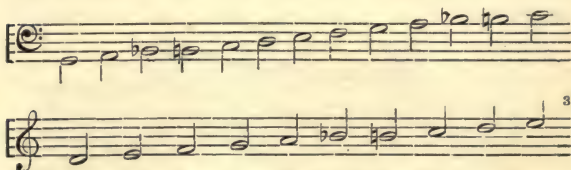
in each case writing *mi fa* at the semitone, wherever it might occur, and in order to prepare the singer for the semitone, invariably reckoning as *re* the note immediately before it, as in the last example, where the *la* is reckoned *re* for this reason. So that, had the extension here been by B flat instead of B natural, and the semitone then occurred

a step earlier, *viz.*, between A and B flat, instead of B natural and C, then the *sol* would have been reckoned *re*,



and this is a plan which at once commends itself for its suggestiveness.<sup>1</sup>

In this way, then, and by these simple means was an admirable simplicity and clearness introduced into the art of singing, so that there were few who could not learn to chant correctly from book in six months' time, which formerly it had taken ten years to do.<sup>2</sup> And in order to make his system applicable to general music, and not merely a device for teaching the choristers in his monastery to sing, Guido arranged the whole scale agreeably to his six syllables. And this will be an interesting task to see him undertake, for we shall then see the changes which the scale has suffered since the time of Hucbald. For we have seen how Hucbald wrote his scale; and let us now see Guido write it:—

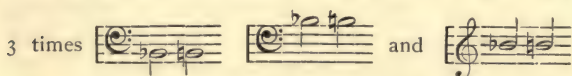


<sup>1</sup> See the admirable analysis of the Guidonian system in Ambros' *Geschichte der Musik*.


<sup>2</sup> Prologus ad Micrologum.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Infra*. p. . That the B $\flat$  was a permissible optional note in the lower part of the Scale, may be proved by reference to his *Organums* (Cap. 18. of the *Micrologus*), where care is taken to avoid the concurrence of B $\flat$  with the E above it, which gave the Tritone.

in which we perceive many changes. For in the first place that symmetrical division of disjunct Tetrachords has completely disappeared. And this is the first instance of the disturbing influence of Hucbald's harmonies on the scale he had so symmetrically established. For we might have prophesied, indeed, that the octave harmony, which annihilated the tetrachords each time it moved, must either give way to them, or they to it; and the latter we see has been the case. The Tetrachords are neither disjunct, nor are they conjunct; but for the time in theory they have ceased to exist, and the octave harmony can move freely up and down, with no impediment either from custom or theoretical tradition. In the second place, the same influence, that is, of the octave harmony, has required and at last obtained an optional accidental at that important place of the scale, the B flat. We have seen it employ this optional accidental from the very first, and now we find the optional note incorporated at last as an intrinsic element in the scale. It occurs




and doubtless the employment of the double 8ve, which was one of Hucbald's forms, has contributed to effect the admission in the third instance, though the single 8ve might equally be supposed to have caused

it.<sup>1</sup> But with the  which has disappeared completely, there was no such pressing necessity for a double form. There was but one more F in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his first Organum for this, also his scale.

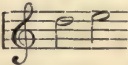


the scale , and this was a much used note

in its natural form, while the F $\sharp$  laboured under the additional drawback, that it formed the tritone


with . It is plain therefore which has had

the stronger influence, and without any compromise of accidentals, the sharp has completely disappeared. In the third place, two extra notes have been added

to the scale, *viz.*, , and these are the

changes which have taken place in the scale since Hucbald's time, and most of them, as it seems, through the influence of his harmony.

Now while with Hucbald the flat B was the commoner, or rather the usual form in the low 8ve, and the natural B in the higher one, with Guido, on the contrary, the reverse is the case, and the natural B has grown so common in the lower 8ve that he writes no other, except when he is employing harmonies,<sup>1</sup> while the flat B is the common form in the upper 8ves. What is the cause of this strange change of habit we cannot tell, unless it be that singing had assumed a higher pitch since Hucbald's time, which indeed the extension of the scale upwards by two notes might suggest, and thus

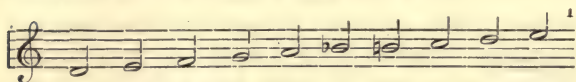
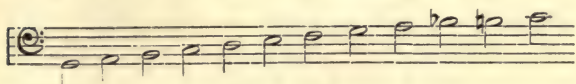
the acute B, , which was always written

with the flat by Hucbald himself, became the common

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to notice that the influence of Hucbald's scale, *i.e.*, with regard to the lower B $\flat$ , remained in Harmony long after it had perished in Melody. Cf. Guido's *Organums passim*,

octave to the middle one—this, however, will not explain the naturalising by preference of the lowest B. Whatever, therefore, may have been the cause, the scale as Guido commonly wrote it was,



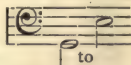
And so entirely had the doctrine of Tetrachords for the time being departed from theory, that we find him arranging it in sets of six notes, to suit his sets of six syllables. These he calls Hexachords, and he arranges them to suit his syllables as under, contriving it that he may get *mi fa* wherever the semitones come:—



<sup>1</sup> Micrologus. Cap. II.

And he called each of these sets Hexachords, as we have said, because they contained six notes. And there are seven of these Hexachords in all, as

will be seen. And the lowest one from



he called the "Low hard hexachord" (*Hexachordum durum grave*), because it contained the hard B

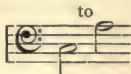


; for now that there were two "B"s in use

namely, B $\sharp$  and B $\flat$ , it was customary to call the B $\sharp$  "The Hard B," and the B flat "The

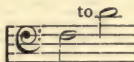
Soft B."

And the hexachord from



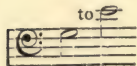
called the "Low Hexachord of Naturals," (*Hexachordum naturale grave*), because it ran in naturals alone, without any accidental occurring. And the Hexachord

from

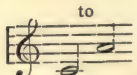


he called the "Low Soft Hexachord,"<sup>1</sup>

because it contained the Soft B flat. And the other Hexachords, which are but repetitions of these, only at a higher pitch, he called in the same way.



was the "High Hard Hexachord,"<sup>2</sup>

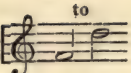


was the "High Hexachord of Naturals,"<sup>3</sup>

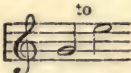
<sup>1</sup> Hexachordum molle grave.

<sup>2</sup> Hexachordum durum acutum.

<sup>3</sup> Hexachordum naturale acutum.



and  was the "High Soft Hexachord."<sup>1</sup>

This ended the second pair of three Hexachords.

And the next from  was the "Very

High Hard Hexachord"<sup>2</sup>—which concluded the scale.


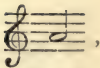
And next, though not for purposes of singing, he affixed letters to the notes of the scale. And we have seen this plan used before—first by Boëthius, who named the notes of the Greek System from


 to  by the letters of the alphabet

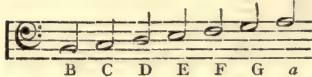
from A to P, and also by Hucbald, who designated them by varieties of the letter F. And we have conjectured which of these two styles or varieties of them were used for the keys of the organs of the period, which had letters inscribed on their keys, as we have said, that the organist might be able readily to distinguish note from note as he played. And now Guido invented a new system of lettering, finding that of Boëthius cumbersome, perhaps, and that of Hucbald difficult, because of the strange shapes it contained. And taking his hint perhaps from what he had already done with his sets of syllables, he arranged the letters also in sets, and we may see what influence the octave harmony had had or was having upon music, when we find him arranging his letters so as to run in sets of octaves. And he took the System of Boëthius as his basis, and since


<sup>1</sup> Hexachordum molle acutum.

<sup>2</sup> Hexachordum durum superacutum.

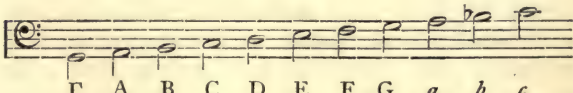
that had run from A to P  to ,

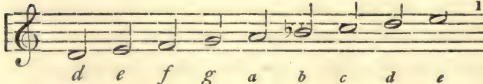
he reckoned off the first octave of it,  A



 ; when it began to repeat,  
B C D E F G a

setting an "a" again. But he had a note 

at the bottom of his scale, which Boëthius had not, and since he must find a letter for this, which was G, in order not to use the same form of G as the other one, he wrote it with a Greek Gamma, Γ, for he would willingly employ a different shaping of the letters for different parts of the scale. Thus the higher octave, which repeated the one we have given, he wrote in italic letters, *a b c d e f g*, and the notes that yet remained, repeating these in in very small italics, *a b c d e*. But now there was a sign to find for B $\sharp$ , for, as the letters stood, they did not include this,

  
Γ A B C D E F G *a b c*

  
*d e f g a b c d e*<sup>1</sup>

So for B  and  he used a square "b"

<sup>1</sup> Micrologus. Cap. 2.



♭, or, as some say, it was the letter "h" ♯. And the B♭ was known as "The Square B," and the B♮ as "The Round B." And this is the Gamut of Guido, that is to say, this scale of letters in company with his syllables, which he would willingly write in this form, which is the same as we have formerly given, only without the modern notes:—

e		la	
d		la sol	
c		sol fa	
♯		mi	
b		fa	
a		la mi re	
g		sol re ut....	<i>Hexachordum durum superacutum.</i>
f		fa ut.....	<i>Hexachordum molle acutum.</i>
e		la mi	
d		la sol re	
c		sol fa ut.....	<i>Hexachordum naturale acutum.</i>
♯		mi	
b		fa	
a		la mi re	
G		sol re ut.....	<i>Hexachordum durum acutum.</i>
F		fa ut.....	<i>Hexachordum molle grave.</i>
E	la	mi	
D	sol	re	
C	fa	ut.....	<i>Hexachordum naturale grave.</i>
B	mi		
A	re		
Γ	ut.....		<i>Hexachordum durum grave.</i>

And because the two lowest notes of both were *Gamma ut*, it was called *Gammut* or *Gamut*, as we have said. And there is a picture of him in an old monkish chronicle, holding a long scroll in his hand, on which letters are written, and they are from Γ to e as we have given them.

And it was customary with him to exercise the children in the monastery on these changes of hexachord by rote, and they had to ring the changes on them, saying E *la mi*, a *la mi re*, f *sol re ut*, C *fa ut*, and so on, in order to familiarise

themselves with the notes and their positions. And he made rhymes to assist their memory, and to show them how the notes came:—

*Ut re, re ut, re mi cum mi re fa, utque sol utque*

*Sol reque, la re, la mi, scandere te faciunt.*

*Ut fa, ut sol re, sol cum re la mi laque fa sol, sol*

*Faque, sol sol, la la sol dum canis ima petunt.<sup>1</sup>*

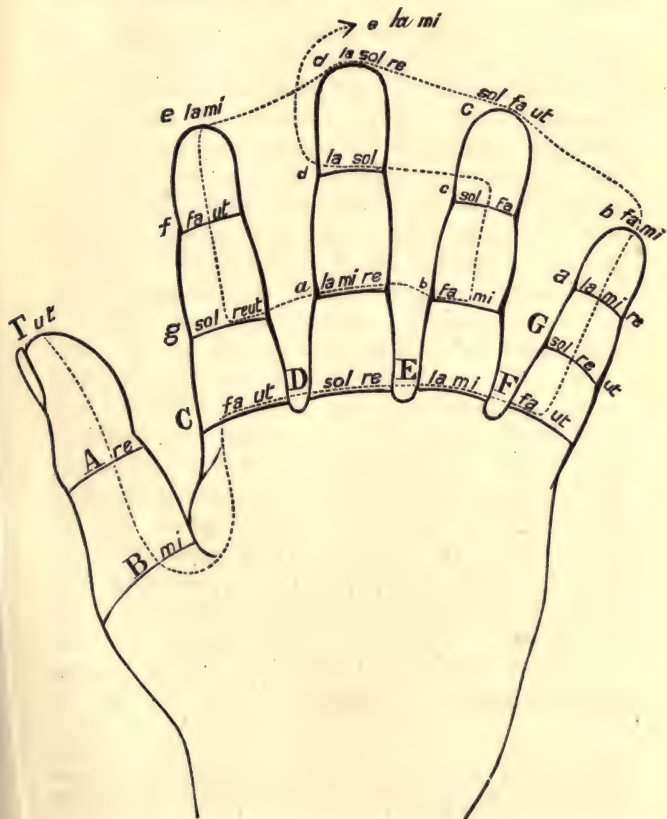
And he also invented the Musical Hand,<sup>2</sup> in order to show the children, much as if he were teaching them to count on their fingers, that very succession of notes which formed his Gamut. For he took a note to every finger joint of his left hand, tracing them with the forefinger of his right; and reckoning in the tips of the fingers, this gave him the exact number of notes and all their mutations which formed his gamut. Only he had to reckon the b flat and the b natural as one note, as we shall see. For starting with the tip of the thumb; that was Gamma *ut*, the first joint of the thumb A *re*, the lowest joint B *mi*; then proceeding by the lowest joints of all the fingers, that of the first finger was C *fa ut*, of the second D *sol re*, of the third E *la mi*, of the little finger F *fa ut*. Then up the little finger with G *sol re ut*, a *la mi re*, b *fa mi*, which was the tip. Then by the tips of the fingers towards the first finger; of the third finger c *sol fa ut*, of the second d *la sol re*, of the first

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<sup>1</sup> It is odd that these lines have been transmitted from hand to hand, without being recognised as Elegiac verses. They are generally found written in a fancy measure of 6 or 8 syllables in the line.

<sup>2</sup> His invention of the Musical Hand is indeed open to doubt. In this, as in one or two other points, it would be no hard matter for a jealous critic to controvert the givings out of tradition, which is but an unamiable thing to do, and of inconsiderable importance in the due conception of history.

*e la mi.* Down the first finger to the middle joint, along the middle joints of second and third, up the third to the top joint, from thence to the top joint of the second finger, which was the last vacant place, and off with *e la mi.* This gave him the complete gamut, as we may see,



And in this way he would teach the children in the monastery, teaching them so clearly and by such easy methods that none could mistake him, and even the dullest could learn to sing easily off the book in six months' time, and some, it was said, could even learn it in one lesson.<sup>1</sup>

Now his brethen, the monks of the convent, grew jealous of the great success he had in his teaching, and brought tales to the abbot, saying that he was corrupting the genuine traditions of ecclesiastical music by new-fangled devices, and that the monastery was becoming a laughing-stock to the world by reason of the silly stuff that was taught there. And the abbot hearing this, and perhaps knowing as little of Guido's method as the monks themselves, and without caring to observe the marvellous results of his teaching, reprimanded him, and bade him teach after the ancient style or not at all. And Guido left the convent. And he was much dispirited at the treatment he had received from his own brotherhood, whose music he would have raised to such a pitch of excellence by means of his system, that no monastery in the world could have surpassed it. And he thought to himself that if his own brothers rejected him thus, what treatment could he expect from strangers! And he wandered from monastery to monastery, gaining admission to some, indeed, but at others not even allowed to enter the walls. And even in those that received him, the same jealousy and mistrust was his lot, and no

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<sup>1</sup> His exact words in the Prologue to the *Micrologus* are, that children, who had not seen their music for a whole month, could sing it at first sight by means of his system.

sooner had he begun to put his system into practice than intrigues were set on foot against him, and he was thrust often with derision from the doors. And thus wandering from place to place, with no one to put faith in him, or even to give his system a hearing, he compares himself to the man who had invented a priceless glass, flexible and unbreakable, that was more precious than any pearl, and took it to the Emperor Augustus, expecting a great reward. But Augustus ordered the inventor to be killed, because he had invented something that was too valuable for mankind to know. And to this man does Guido compare himself, for he also had invented a priceless glass, and no one would look at it, and he must needs be a wanderer on the face of the earth, and thrust from door to door, for what he had done. And indeed this is the lot of all originators, that they must consent to sacrifice themselves to their discovery, for this is the only price at which the world will take it.

But through all his adversities one man stood his friend, and that was Tedaldus, Bishop of Arezzo, who is represented in monkish manuscripts holding one end of the scroll with the Gamut inscribed on it, and Guido the other, because it was Tedaldus who first made Guido known. He, wishing to see that admirable system brought before the world, and to raise its great inventor above the petty jealousies of common men, at last prevailed on the Pope himself to send for Guido, and hear what he had to say for the improvement of ecclesiastical song. And the Pope having sent for him was so well pleased with what he heard, that he would even receive instruction from him himself, and commended his system as a prodigy, which all men would do

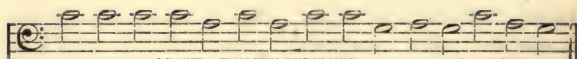


well to learn.<sup>1</sup> And from that day, it seems, the fame of Guido began to spread, but not his prospects to improve, and he was glad to retire from the jealousies and ill feelings which still pursued him, to the quiet convent of Pomposa in Ferrara, where he devoted himself to writing a treatise on his system, and also to making certain improvements in the musical art, which he had had for a long time in his mind. For his syllables and hexachords, indeed, were designed to the elucidation of that method of musical notation by Neumes, and gloriously had they illuminated it. But yet the same method of notation still continued, nor had he as yet advanced any suggestion towards its improvement. And this method we have spoken of in great detail before, and have found it to consist of strokes and points placed above the words, according to the principles of a complicate system, and though but derivatives of simple accents, yet answering in their developed form all the purposes of a musical notation, except for the vagueness with which they denoted the intervals, and for the lack of any means of determining the pitch. And the latter deficiency, indeed, was not so much felt in days when pitch itself was but loosely regarded, and the greatest latitude allowed to singers to accommodate the tenour of the song to the exigencies and compass of their voices. But the former was a more serious blemish, and must even have been felt a difficulty even in the times of Gregory himself, though not so much observed, owing to the tunes being mainly traditional, and well known to the singers, who

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<sup>1</sup> The account of this and the rest is given in Guido's own words in his treatise *De Ignoto Cantu*.





ge - nus hu - ma-num ca - su suc - cu - bu - it ve - te - ra - nō.

written,

$\overline{\text{I}}$  -  $\overline{\text{I}}$  - - -  $\overline{\text{I I I}}$  -  $\overline{\text{I}}$  -  $\overline{\text{I}}$   $\overline{\text{I}}$   
 Per summi patris indulgentiam qui miserans quod  
 $\overline{\text{I I}}$   $\overline{\text{I I}}$  -  $\overline{\text{I}}$  -  $\overline{\text{I I}}$  -  $\overline{\text{I}}$  -  $\overline{\text{I}}$  - -  
 genus humanum casu succubuit veterano

and others in the same way, with all the varieties of shape, as • for  $\overline{\text{I}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{I I}}$  &c., for  $\overline{\text{I}}$ , which fancy or caprice suggested. But this was a defective method, as indeed an examination of the above will show. For the extent of interval of rise and fall was far less lucidly indicated than even the Gregorian system had contrived to indicate it by those compound signs which it chiefly used, in which  $\wedge$  was generally understood to mean a descent of a second or third,

$\beta$  of a second,  $\checkmark$  an ascent of a second or third, and the others with similar traditional limitations. But here in this tenuity of notation there was absolutely no guide to determining the value of the interval, nor were the signs doubled by others of similar meaning, as in the luxuriant Gregorian vocabulary, that special functions might have been assigned to each.

The natural way to obviate the difficulty was not however long in coming. The signs were written at higher or lower levels, according as an ascent or descent of the voice was intended, the proportionate height or distance between each being determined by the measure of the interval. Already by the end of the 9th century, we find this method commonly employed. And now since in this arbitrary

raising and depressing of signs, a sign of intrinsic ascent or intrinsic descent was no longer necessary, either of the two forms — and 7 was employed to the exclusion of the other, and it was written at higher or lower levels, as under,

— — — — — — — — — —  
 Per summi patris indulgentiam qui miserans quod  
 — — — — — — — — — —  
 genus humanum casu succubuit veterano,<sup>1</sup>  
 or with the 7 sign,

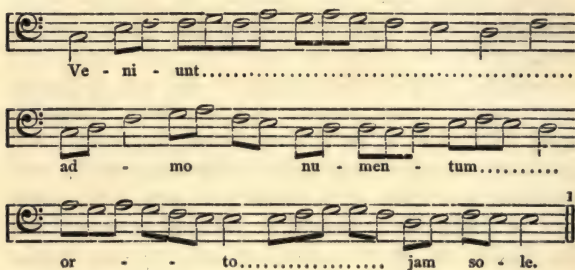
7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7  
 Per summi patris indulgentiam qui miserans quod  
 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7  
 genus humanum casu succubuit veterano.<sup>2</sup>

Such then was the method of writing which grew up in the Hymn and Sequence style, and in that sphere of music it answered very well. But meanwhile in that other branch of the art, in Sacred and Secular Latin songs, in the later Gregorian style itself, that is, in Responsoriums, Antiphons, &c., composed by the monks, the difficulties of the old notation were felt even more grievously, while there was no such easy method to counteract them. For the music of their order still ran in the vague arrhythmic tenour of the old Gregorian song, yet the progressions had vastly altered so as to render many of the compound signs of passages nugatory, while there was a daily demand for greater precision of notation in the simpler signs for intervals and in the posture of the ordinary notes, if the invention of composers was ever to assert itself against traditional renderings

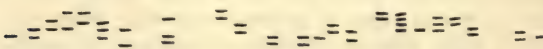
<sup>1</sup> As in the so-called Song of Boece—end of 9th century.

<sup>2</sup> This form no less than the other is found in the MSS., the same neume being retained from first to last.

and constant perversions, which the retention of the original signs, conceived for an antiquated style of melody, rendered unavoidable. And first there seems to have been a reaction against the complicated Neume notation entirely, and a following in the steps of the Hymn and Sequence style, but with what effect we shall presently see, for what was natural in the latter, that is to say, the reduction of all the forms to one or two symbols, for it went note for syllable, and required no more, was unnatural and even foolish in this, which required so many bends and flexions of tones on single syllables, and runs, and other Gregorian habitudes; as if we should write a piece like the following,



by simple notes,


  
 Veniunt                  ad mo - numentum orto                  jam sole.

it would lead to endless confusion, for the notes being ranged above one another, to preserve them as far as possible to their syllable, there is no telling whether they should be read down or up, and other

<sup>1</sup> B. Museum. MS. No. 29.



difficulties also occur, and the eye is weary of scanning the ungainly drawing, and cannot read it properly. Yet such a plan was undoubtedly pursued for a time, and examples of it may be found in the Antiphonary of Murbach, the Antiphonary of Montpellier, and various MSS. in the Bibliothèque de Montpellier. But even had clearness been effected by these means, all the nice signs for banded notes and ties, which indicated a dainty acceleration of the voice, as we have mentioned before, had disappeared in the transaction, and also those graces of slurred and appoggiaturaed intervals, and other things as well, which all alike were entirely indispensable to the due execution of Gregorian song. So that it was but a raw substitution and a hasty effort at redemption, which brought no result but only a desire to return to the past again. But now a divine compromise was effected, and who was the author of it we cannot tell, which lit up the dark Gregorian system into the most lustrous perspicuity, and exactly effected what it was the desire of everybody to have. And it turned on the combination of the old Gregorian signs with these new note marks which had grown up under the influence of the Hymn and Sequence. For these were the ancient Gregorian signs :—There was the *Clivis*, which was written in its various forms of  $\wedge \cap \gamma \gamma \gamma \wedge \wedge$

which indicated a descending interval, as an interval of a 2nd, 3rd, even 4th or 5th; there was the *Podatus* which was the opposite of this, and denoted an ascending interval of a 2nd, 3rd, &c., in the same manner, and was written  $\checkmark \int \triangleright$   
 $\int \int \int$ ; there was the *Sinuosum*, a descending interval, like the *Clivis*, but generally, as we have



by the attachment of these note marks, which were placed at higher or lower levels, proportionately to the span of the interval, to the Gregorian signs themselves, which instantly received a most perspicuous meaning, and, retaining all their old expressiveness, became at the same time the most accurate expositors of music. For if the Podatus

✓ meant an ascending interval of any value, then by affixing a note at its top and bottom, at the proportionate distance of a 3rd, as note marks went, thus,

✓ = J, the Podatus received at once the value of a

3rd, but by extending the distance of the notes a little, and stretching out the body of the Podatus, thus J, the Podatus received the value of a 4th;

and similarly by compressing its body's length, and bringing the notes closer together J, the Podatus

received the value of a 2nd. And similarly with the other signs, as the Clavis, which by preference in this style was written in the forms ^ or


Y. Arming the Clavis therefore with a note at head and foot thus, \ or /; stretching out its body L, you shall have the interval of a 5th,

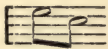
diminishing it L, you shall have a 3rd, to


tininess L, a 2nd. And similarly with the other signs, which thenceforth by their union with the

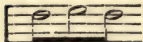

note marks began to pass into other forms as we shall show; for the Sinuosum /3, with note marks

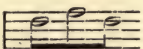

attached to it, put on squareness for its roundness and became L, for it indicated the descent generally of a second, and the notes are inserted in its rounded rim at that distance apart, and so obliterate the original form. Now these might be brought



further apart, if the Sinuosum for the time being were intended to denote a larger interval, thus , where


they may be , let us say; and how

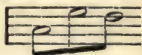
lucid and easy is the determination now! Similarly the compound sign  is also accurately defined as


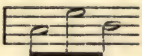
 by the insertion of the notes at 






and as  by their posture thus , and
























as  by . And by similar insertion

and similar position were the other compound signs transformed and explained.  which was a triple sign like the last, though not intended to fall so low

at the close, was limited to the notes 

by its form , but became  when

 was used, and thus it was with the rest of the compounds. And meanwhile the Porrectus  three ascending notes, was distinguished in its two forms of ascent, for by seconds it was , by thirds ; and its contrary, the Oriscus, in descending was defined by like insertions in the same manner. While that Neume so like the Porrectus, but with a thicker tail , which denoted the ascent of a second, retained much of its old form even with inserted notes, appearing

as . And in this way the Neumes were changing. And those grace notes, which were the flowers of the Gregorian music, denoting slurred and appoggiaturaed intervals of indeterminate value, and the voice was said to limpidly pass through them, and the waved line expressed their character so well—since these denoted only one ordinary note besides the appoggiatura, they might well have been left untouched, but in keeping with the spirit of the other alterations, an inserted note was placed in the centre of them, the Eptaphonus becoming  , and the Cephalicus,  . Also the sign , in its various forms           became much more decided in the stroke at its top at this period, and these forms variously appear     , &c., the sign  however being still the commonest. But the sign for the simple note remained , as we have seen.

Now whether the idea of actually inserting the note-marks in the signs was not perhaps suggested by a habit of notation which had obtained among the Lombards, may well admit conjecture. For the Lombards wrote their neumes in thick black strokes, and in such a running hand, that they were more like clumsily formed letters than signs of notes in music; and in order to make them a little clearer, they would sometimes put the simple note sign at one end of their Podatus or at the highest part of the Clavis, to show that the sign began or ended there. But this should seem rather to be a device of a few copyists, which was unknown to the majority of musicians, and certainly without all influence on the insertion of the Note-marks in



the Neumes in general Europe, which came about in a different manner, and by naturally developed steps, as we have seen.



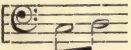
Let us now write the piece of music which looked so ungainly in a former page, when bare note marks were used to express it, by benefit of the illuminated Gregorian notation, which we have since seen grow up before us :—

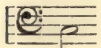
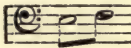
Veniunt                      ad                      monumentum

or                      -                      to                      jam                      sole.

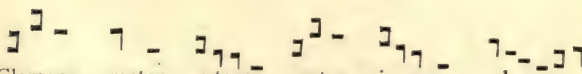
where, taking C to start with, it will be plain that the following indicates an ascending interval of one tone, the following also of one tone, but the succeeding , which is taller, an interval of two tones. Then , which is a triple sign, the rise and fall of a tone ; — — — three descending signs, the melody sinking one note at each, and rising again at the high sign, or upstroke , and so on. And in this way may we with very little difficulty make out the tenour of the melody. And this method of writing, despite some imperfections, remained the style employed in Europe for nearly two centuries.

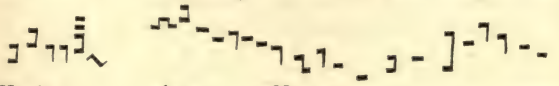
And what are these imperfections? And there is only one main one, which is, that though each individual sign tells its tale and tells it well, yet in their relations to each other there is a wide margin of laxity, nor is there any certainty whether the succeeding sign starts at the same level at which the preceding one left off, or at a lower or higher pitch ; as in the instance just quoted, where in

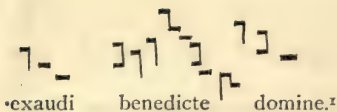
—  Veniunt we are surprised to find the  not equivalent to , understanding the — to

be , but instead of that to 

thus leaving a gap, between itself and the last note, unaccounted for, and with no means of indicating it in the music. But this deficiency, which was not felt for a long time—for nearly two centuries, as we have said—and was perhaps scarcely recognised as a deficiency in a notation that seemed almost lucid clearness after the obscurity of the ancient Gregorian style, was not hard to remedy; for the remedy merely turned on setting the Neumes at higher or lower levels agreeably to their pitch as the notes had been set; and doubtless directly the difficulty began to be a difficulty, this principle of counteracting it began to be acted on. And accordingly we find towards the middle of the 11th century the Neumes set above one another or below one another agreeably to the pitches of their commencing note, and, in a word, on entirely the same principle which had governed the arrangement of the simple note-marks in the same manner. And as an example of this we may give the following:—

  
Clemens rector æterne pater immense cleyson

  
Kyrie cleyson. Nostras nec non voces

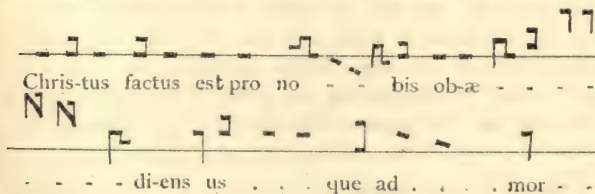


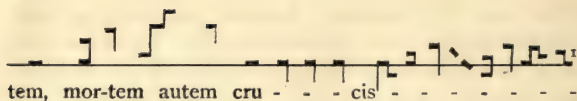
And this principle of proceeding again smoothed all difficulties, and once more the Neumes started on a fresh career of existence. Flung now in all sorts of airy mazes about the paper, they lost in symmetry of pattern what they gained in perspicuity of pitch, and were often in the hands of careless copyists made to dance rare cotillons in the margin or between the lines. The privilege of rearing them in hills and slopes above the even line of the text was unfairly utilised by many copyists, who crowded in more words beneath them than their perspicuity would bear, especially at the ends of lines or at the turnings of pages, where bad copying perceives that it has used more room than it ought; while other writers, falling into the same fault, and endeavouring to remedy it by at all hazards keeping the Neumes above their syllables, squeezed the hills into pinnacles and the slopes into acute angles, and completely sacrificed the proportionate height of their components in consequence. And even in the best copying the art of setting the signs in precise ratios of height and depth, when there was no guide to lead the eye, which was an easy art when simple notes or dashes only were concerned, became a comparatively difficult one, when the whimsical shapes of hooks and tails, which were the Neumes, had come forward as the material of treatment. And as difficult as it was for the copyists to set them, no less difficult was it for the singers to read them. So that the necessity of

<sup>1</sup> From a French Psalter. 11th century.

some clue or assistance towards proportioning their relative heights and depths was daily felt more and more an urgent need. And a line was drawn through the flux of Neumes, as a clue or assistance to the copyists, and immediately the difficulties were diminished by one half; for there was proportioning and sorting those below the line, and there was proportioning those above the line, for all that stood at such and such a height, say a 5th and more above the lowest neume, immediately went on or over the line, and admitted an easy determination with their companions at higher or similar levels, on the new basis of lowest note which the line afforded. And first the line was drawn with a dry pen, but afterwards it was drawn in ink, sometimes black, but oftener red.

Such then was the state of things in Guido's time, and he, having perfected his musical system of vocalisation and song, as we have seen him do, and having composed a treatise on it, which was designed to give scientific demonstrations to the advantages of his style of teaching, had retired to the convent of Pomposa in Ferrara, with the intention of making extended studies in the musical science of his time, and also of contriving certain improvements in this very notation, which he had had for a long time in his mind. And the neumes then, as he found them, were written with a line through them, in such a form as the following:—





And in this way their relative heights were much more easily determined than had formerly been the case. But Guido added another line, and thus made their determination easier still. For let us set a line as he did among the Neumes, like the lower one, only higher up, and we shall see what manifest advantage to clearness of position is gained by so doing :—

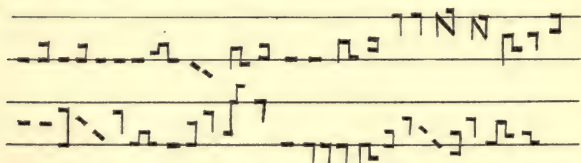


But next he proceeded to an almost divine origination, which was in keeping with his other exactitudes of reformation which he had introduced into other spheres of music; for these lines indeed help marvellously to show the relative height and depth of the signs, but they do not tell us what actual musical notes the signs indicate. And now we shall see how that last deficiency of the Neumatic notation, the lack of any means of determining the pitch of the notes, was remedied by the genius of Guido. For he arranged it

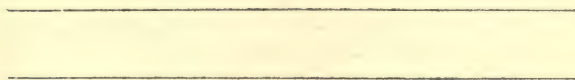
<sup>1</sup> Gradual for Palm Sunday. German MS.



that the lines should each indicate a definite note, and all the signs which stood on either line accordingly should be taken at that line's note, and the others proportionably below or above it. And since the lines were at about the proportion of a 5th from each other, he arranged it that the lower line should give the note F, and the upper line the note C. And to make their distinction striking to the eye, he coloured the C line yellow, but the F line he left red, as it was at first. And then he says, "*Ubi-  
que igitur videris crocum, ipsa est littera tertia; ubi-  
que videris minium, ipsa est littera sexta,*" which is, "Whenever you see yellow, that is the third letter or C; and whenever you see red, that is the sixth letter, which is F." So that the notation now stood,



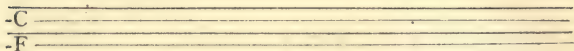
And now, finding the good effects of the perspicuity which the lines had brought about, copyists themselves began to employ new ones, drawing lines with a dry pen, though afterwards in ink, between the C line and the F line, and also above the C line, in this way
















So that now there were four lines in all, each a third apart from the others. And since this was amply sufficient for the compass of ordinary singing,

containing an 8ve and a note, in this form the stave remained.<sup>1</sup>

But though he had determined so nicely the neat colouring of his lines, he must be prepared for the carelessness or inability of copyists to comply with his directions, who often, out of caprice or else in the absence of proper pigments, wrote all the lines in black ink; so that to obviate the confusion which this would entail, he was led to another contrivance, with which he set the seal on his other discoveries, and with which indeed his relations to musical notation come to an end. For finding that the copyists wrote all his lines often in black, and so the distinction of colour was lost, he set the actual letter "C" on the C line, and the letter "F" on the F line, thus,




Now how C passed into , and from thence into our own C clef,  or , and how F similarly, losing its lower stroke, passed into , and so into  and,  which is our Bass or F clef, and how the Neumes themselves, as  -   &c., gradually put on more familiar forms as     and how one line more was added to the stave, and the system we have been studying passed easily into the forms of modern notation, will be more conveniently described at a later place in this history.

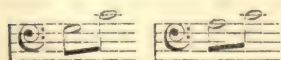
But meanwhile, while these strange fortunes were

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that the notation of Hucbald plays no part in the main march of notation, nor has his stave had any influence even in suggesting the stave of Guido. One appeared as the miraculous invention of a single thinker; the other grew gradually into shape as necessity required it. That has perished, this has remained.

attending the progress of the Neumes, another order of music was attaining prominence, which bid fair to lay a far greater strain on their powers of expression, for besides requiring a definition of the pitch of the notes, it also demanded an indication of their lengths. And this was that Rhythmic Music of the Popular Songs, which we have seen even making its way into the ecclesiastical style, and already systematised and arranged by Franco of Cologne. And the neumes that were in use in his day had not indeed reached that perfect form which Guido ultimately set on them, but were sufficiently far advanced in their development to offer a flexible material for treatment, having the exact contour of the Guidonian notation, though lacking the stave and the clefs, which, though of immense value towards defining pitch, were towards the exposition of rhythmic quantity entirely unnecessary. And Franco, arranging his system in its symmetrical balance of longs and shorts, was put to taxing the Neumes to expound the various values of his notes. And some of his rulings may doubtless have been arbitrary, but others had probably the benefit of tradition to determine them. For already in the pre-Gregorian times we noticed, and in the days of the early Christian song, how the behaviour of the untrained voice, in scarcely taking a note,




but it must anticipate it by another, as ,

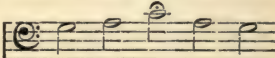
had set its mark on the features of that early music, and how this deficiency had been preserved as an essential part of the Gregorian Song, in which

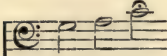


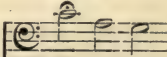
&c., are of so common

occurrence, where we should write a simple note. So that in the actual intonation of the ascending interval we may imagine an unconscious adhesion to the primitive style of utterance, and that the sign ✓, which represented it, was always sung with the first note slightly short. If this were so, it would give a start to a rhythmic valuator. And similarly the descending sign ^ would furnish another hint. For in descending there is no such effort as in ascending; there is no anticipation, and there is no shortening of the first note; so that the descending sign ^ would be naturally sung with its commencing note of the ordinary length, as the ascending one with its first note slightly short. But even more perhaps than either of these, would groups of

neumes, such as    &c., suggest possibilities of rhythmic assessment, for whatever primitive types of melody they were intended to represent, even in the advanced style of Gregorian signing there was scarcely any avoiding a slight pause on the highest note of the group, which is most natural to singers; and these phrases of notes would be sung, and perhaps from the

earliest times were sung, 

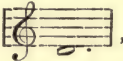
, and in descending, with a slight pause

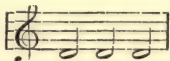
on the highest note in like manner 

And whether it were from the influence of such passages as these, or that there is a tendency in the voice to make a slight pause on all high notes,

we have good reason to believe that the up sign / or 7 was always associated with a slight pause in its note, in the traditions of singers even before the time of Franco, and when it came, as we have seen, to lose its original signification of height, and to be interchanged freely with the sign — or •, this distinction, or at least the memory of it, had survived, and here was another suggestive hint towards a rhythmic valuation.

With such slender materials as these, then, to work upon, Franco commenced his task of adapting the Gregorian notation to the requirements of the new or Measurable Music, or, as it was called in the Ecclesiastical Latin of the time, the *Cantus Mensurabilis*, which he had organised and almost created. And since the starting-point of his system

had been the Long note of three times ,

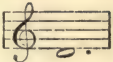
which included  as the equivalents of

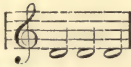

its value, he made this sign that we have just mentioned, | or ■, writing it in the latter form which was the commoner, stand for the Long note; and he took the sign for the simple note ■ to stand for the short ones, which were equivalent to it. And he called the sign ■ the Long, but the sign ■ he called the Breve, that is to say, the Short,<sup>1</sup> employing the Latin language for his terminology, agreeably to the practice of the time. But there was still another sign wanted to express his third



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<sup>1</sup> Franco. *Cantus Mensurabilis*. Cap. 4.

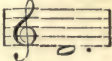


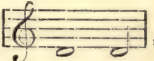
order of note, for he had ruled that  was

equal to  but also to 

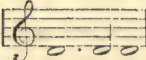
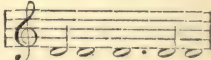
So that to express these last notes he employed that other sign for the simple note, the dot , and this he called the Semibreve, or Half Short.<sup>1</sup> And now he could write his three orders of note as  and for the elements of mensurable music he had got convenient symbols.


But next he must traffic with these in a strange way to the due expression of his Measures. For he had Five Measures or Rhythms, as we have mentioned some time ago, which he had sifted from

the popular music of the time. There was 

with its equivalents as above, and also 

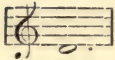


the First Measure;  the Second Measure;

 the Third Measure; 

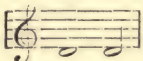
the Fourth Measure; and  the



Fifth Measure; and these it will be seen contain new quantifying of notes, beyond the scope of the

<sup>1</sup> Franco. Cantus Mens. Cap. 4.

simple signs for  and  and .

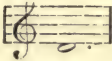
And let us see how he contrived to express them; for he invented no new signs to do so, which had been the easiest way, but limited himself to the old ones; and in the evident conscientiousness of this limitation, we may perhaps discover actual proof, that the three simple signs which he started with had perhaps some traditional distinction of rhythmic value, as we before suggested.

In order then to express the variant form of his First Measure , for which indeed he


had the sign ■ for , but no sign for , since his

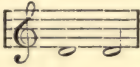
Long ■ stood for  of three times, he ruled

that when a Long was immediately followed by a


Breve, it should lose its signification of 

and should receive instead the diminished value of

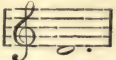
. Thus he expressed the variant form

of his First Measure, , thus, ■ ■, or to

set it in lines, which will be more convenient for

the eye, . And since in the process he had

<sup>1</sup> Franco. Cant. Mens. Cap. 5.

evolved a new kind of Long, which, though the same in figuration, was different in value to the original one, he laid it down that there were two orders of Longs, the first equivalent to , and the


second equivalent to . And since the first

contained Three times, but the second only Two, and Three was the sign of the Trinity, which was the symbol of Perfection, he called the first order Perfect Longs,<sup>1</sup> but the second order he called Imperfect Longs, and they were the same in figuration, though different in value, as we have said.<sup>2</sup>

Now in order to express his Second Measure


, he did not think well to lay any

further tax on the expressibility of his Longs, or to say, for instance, that if a Long was immediately preceded by a Breve, it should also become Imperfect, as when it was followed by one; but instead, he taxed the Breve alone to express this new collocation of values, which had the further advantage that it completely distinguished the Second Measure from the First, that otherwise had been hard to tell. And he laid it down that when two Breves came together, the second should at once receive a Double

value, becoming, that is, equivalent to  instead

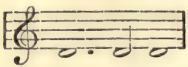
<sup>1</sup> Franco. Can. Mens. Cap. 4. Perfecta dicitur eo quod tribus temporibus mensuretur Est enim ternarius numerus inter numeros perfectissimus, pro eo quod a summa Trinitate, quæ vera est et summa perfectio, nomen assumit.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. Sub figuratione perfecte, duo tantum tempora valet.


of . And in this way he expressed his Second

Measure, writing for . And



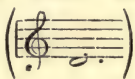
next to express his Third Measure, which was

, he had merely to combine forms

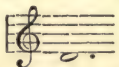
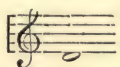
already determined on; yet in the combination he was led to the evolution of a new principle of

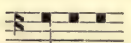
necessity. For while  would admirably

express the latter part of the Third Measure

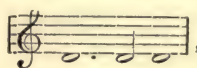
, and  () the

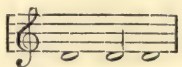
former part; yet the combination of these two forms would lead to confusion, unless some means were taken to prevent it; for having before ruled that any Long, which was immediately preceded by a Breve, should become *ipso facto* Imperfect, and be diminished

in value from  to , no sooner

was the Third Measure written in full ,

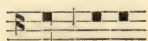
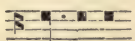
than the Long changed accordingly, and this collocation

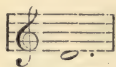
of notes instead of representing ,

denoted instead . It was therefore

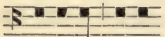
<sup>1</sup> Franco. Cant. Cap. 4.

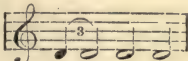
necessary to devise some contrivance which should remedy this, and accordingly he hit upon the following:—He set a little mark, either a little dot or a little stroke, after the Long, when it was to be taken independently, without regard to its relations towards the note that followed.<sup>1</sup> And in this way he could perfectly express his Third Measure, thus:—

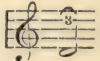
 or, with the dot,  ; for by

benefit of this mark the Long was considered without regard to the Breve that followed, and therefore received its full value of , as the measure required. This also enabled him to express

his Fourth Measure  by the

same easy method, writing it . But

now with his Fifth Measure, he was confronted with a new necessity of ruling, and this time with regard to the Semibreves; for the Fifth Measure, as will be seen,  contains a Semibreve, and

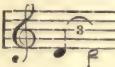

it also contains a note of new value , for which no provision has as yet been made. And now


had he attempted to express this new note 

<sup>1</sup> Franco. Cant. Cap. 5.

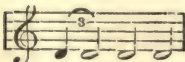



by creating a new and shortened form of Breve, which seems the most natural way, he would have laid perhaps too great a strain on his Breves, of which he had two classes already. He determined therefore to assign the expression of it to the Semibreves, which as yet were untouched. And he laid it down that three Semibreves indeed coming together should each receive their regular value

of  — thus  would equal


, as ruled before; but if two only were

placed, the first should be received in the acceptance of an ordinary Semibreve, but the second should be reckoned in double value, and stand as one note equivalent in duration to the ordinary two;<sup>1</sup> dealing with his Semibreves as he had before dealt with his Breves, for he had made a First and Second Breve, the latter double of the former, and now he made a First and Second Semibreve, or, as he called them, a Less and a Greater, the latter in a similar manner double of the former; and he ruled that this valuation was to be attached, whenever two semibreves came together. In this way he could perfectly express the first part of his Fifth Measure

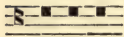
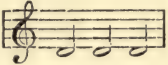
, writing it by two semibreves, thus,

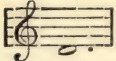
 But in the latter part of it he unexpectedly discovered a difficulty. For here he had two simple


<sup>1</sup> Franc. Can. Cap. 4.

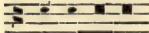
Breves, which were easily enough expressed, indeed, by the plain form , had he not ruled before


that whenever *two* Breves came together, the latter of the two should always be held a Second or Longer Breve, and be double in value of the preceding one. Now in order to escape from this, he was led to a ruling which at first sight appears a great complexity, but on nearer examination is seen to be the last touch of symmetry, which gave elasticity and freedom to a most remarkable system. For he said, "The equivalents of notes shall reckoned as notes. Two Breves shall not be reckoned as isolated Breves, and amenable to the distinction aforesaid, if the equivalent of a Breve precede them; but in that case they shall be counted in their proportion of the time to which three Breves would be taken"<sup>1</sup>—that is, three Breves

 = , or a Perfect Long

, and two Breves with the equivalent of a

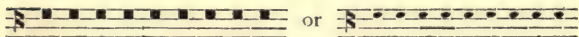
Breve in the same time . And in this way he could write his Fifth Measure,

.

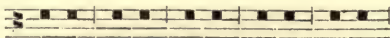
By such easy and eminently philosophical principles of ruling, then, had Franco made the three simple signs  serve the most diverse purposes, and

<sup>1</sup> Franco Can. loc. cit.

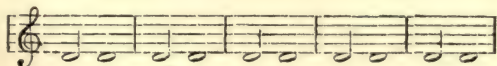
afford a complete expression to all the rhythms of his time. And now by a new application of the little stroke, or dot, which was called the *Divisio Modi*, he cemented his system, and provided for something which was all that was left to provide for. For having ruled that if two Breves came together, the Second was to be double of the former, and if three, or the equivalent of three, they were all to be equal, and of semibreves in like manner; how, if many Breves, or many Semibreves appeared in collocation—how should the singer know then whether they were to be sung in twos or threes? as



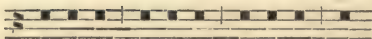
for without the occurrence of a Long here and there to mark them into groups it would be hard to tell, And by a new application of the *Divisio Modi*, or little stroke, as I say, he determined this accurately. For having formerly used it to show that a Long was to be considered independently of the Breve that followed, or, as we might say, to “mark off” the Long from the following Breve, he now applied it as a general sign of division to mark off group from group, whenever a number of Breves or Semibreves appear ranked side by side. And applying it to the Breves above figured,



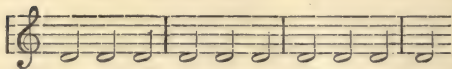
was recognised at once as,



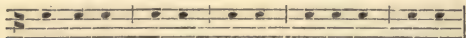
and



as,



and with the semibreves in like manner. Or he might mix these forms as :—

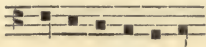


which became, therefore,

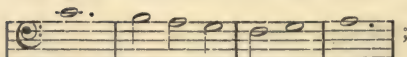
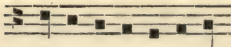


and so on.<sup>1</sup>

In this sign, therefore, Franco had a corrective, which he could use at any moment, not only in a long succession of parallel notes, but in all sequences of notes, to enlighten and make clear the rhythm, whenever there seemed any doubt regarding it. For a succession like this, indeed, is clear enough:—



or

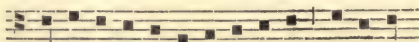


<sup>1</sup> Franc. Can. Cap. 5.

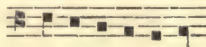
yet if this latter had seemed dark, he would have placed a *Divisio Modi* at the G, thus,



to show that two Breves were left over after the Triplet, and must be treated accordingly. But these calculations were so well understood, that only in very long passages was the employment necessary, as,



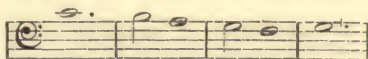
while all that preceded and were left unmarked, went regularly in triplets. Yet such passages were of rare occurrence. But the *Divisio Modi* was more generally useful to show unusual constructions of the notes, as of



which naturally were



were intended instead to be sung,




then this surprising alteration was easily effected by the use of the *Divisio Modi*, as under,

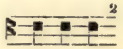



And in such cases as this, it indeed justified its title as *Divisio Modi*, or Division of the Measure, for it showed that the Second Measure was to be



used in the second two notes instead of the First. And sometimes so in other cases. For his measures were often mixed, though not necessarily marked off as here, being the equivalents of our bars in music, and having a greater elasticity, for they began with shorts no less than longs, that is, with light accents no less than heavy, as was the case with the Greeks—a refinement we have since lost.

And Franco, complying with the requirements of usage, invented a Double Long or a Large, which should be equal to three Longs and of nine times.<sup>1</sup> This was because the music of the songs sometimes held on a note for all those beats. And why he made it of nine times, and equal to three longs, instead of six and equal to two, was to be in accordance with the symmetry of his system, agreeably to which one long was equal to three breves, and one breve to three semibreves, and now he must have one Large equal to three longs in like manner. And where a long equal to two longs was wanted, he wrote it by two Longs side by side  .

And so the Large of three longs he at first wrote by three Longs side by side, as <sup>2</sup> . But afterwards he invented a character for it, viz.

 . And why he should invent a character for this, and not the long of two times, which he undoubtedly used, was either because it was a commoner note in a music that consisted entirely of Triple Time, or else because he refused to recognise

<sup>1</sup> Cantus Mensu. Cap. 4.

<sup>2</sup> It is always so written in Gerbert.

as very valid a note that was not in accordance with the symmetrical proportions that pervaded his system.

Let us now write a piece of music agreeably to Franco's measured notes, and we shall see how fluently and easily it runs:—



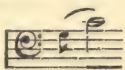
Fi - de - li - um so - nat vox so - bri - a..... Con - ver - te - re

Si - on in gau - di - a..... Sit om - ni - um u - na læ - ti -

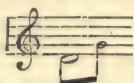
ti - a..... Quos u - ni - ca re - de - mit gra - ti - a.....

But with the determination and sorting thus of the values of these three species of notes, his system of notation had not ended; for there yet remained the tied notes to be classified and valued, as whenever two or more notes went to one syllable, for which such abundance of signs existed in the Gregorian notation, which, now that rhythm was fast penetrating all, must receive their quantification and determination as the simpler signs had done. For he laboured indeed not to create new figurations and new signs, but to adapt the old ones to the new requirements; and having adapted the three simple signs to rhythmic measurements, probably by benefit of some traditionary usage, as we have suggested, which led him to a valuation not wholly arbitrary, he adapted the tied signs, that is, the bound neumes, or Ligatures, as they were called, in a similar manner. And for that the neume  $\surd$ , or in its later form  $\blacksquare$ , was commonly sung with the first note

slightly shorter than the other, being the representative

of the  , or anticipated note of early







Christian music, he ordained that the first note of it






should be reckoned a Breve  , and passing

from thence to a general principle he ordained that all ligatures, that ascended like the neume, ✓ and had the first note without a tail, as it has, should similarly have that first note reckoned a Breve.<sup>1</sup> And thus the first note of many ligatures was at once determined and valued on very striking analogy, that is to say, the first note of the Porrectus neume, which was the ligature ■■, of the compound Podatus and Clivis neume, which was the ligature ■■ of the variant form of the neume ■, which was sometimes written ■ with the highest note turned outwards, that is to say, of all compound figures whatsoever, that agreed with the above ruling, as of the ligatures ■■■ ■■■■■ and others—all having their first note determined on the analogy of the neume ✓, which was the ascending ligature ■, and had his first note without a tail, and the value of that note a Breve. And similarly he determined the value of other ligatures on the analogy of the descending neume ^ or 7, which we have seen written as a ligature ■. And the traditionary method of singing this ligature, as we have seen, was with the first note long. And

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Cap. 7. Item, omnis ligatura cum proprietate primam facit brevem.



Franco ordained that all ligatures that descended like the ligature , and had their first note without a tail, as it has, should have that first note reckoned a Long.<sup>1</sup> And thus the first note of many ligatures was at once determined and valued on a very striking analogy, that is to say, the first note of the Oriscus neume, which was the ligature , and of the compound Clivis and Podatus neume, which was the ligature , and of all compound signs whatsoever, which agreed with the above ruling, as , all having the first note determined on the analogy of the neume , which was the descending ligature , and had its first note without a tail, and the value of that note a Long.



And next to contrast with these, he proceeded to a ruling, which perhaps was arbitrary; for he ordered that the presence of a tail to the first note changed its value to its exact opposite, as in a descending ligature it would make it short, and in an ascending ligature it would make it long.<sup>2</sup> And these were the two neumes, the Pressus neume  and the Sinuosum neume , which had given birth to these two orders of ligatures; and there seems no reason to think that there was any traditionary valuing of them to lead to the ruling, which was a purely arbitrary and convenient one. And the Pressus neume in ligature, appeared as , as we have before mentioned but also as  and , for it was written in various ways, and all ligatures that agreed with

<sup>1</sup> Ib. Item omnis sine, longam.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. 7. sq.

it, in ascending and having their first note furnished with a tail, had that first note a long, as the


compound ligatures , and others. \* And the Sinuosum neume in ligature appeared as , as we have before mentioned; and all ligatures that agreed with it, in descending, and having their first note furnished with a tail, had that first note










a Breve, as the ligatures , and others in like manner. And this determination of the first note of ligatures Franco called the Propriety of Ligatures, or as we may turn it, the *Peculiarity* of Ligatures; and regarding the Long as the natural value of the first note, he said that those ligatures, which had their first note a Long, had "no peculiarity," but those which had a Breve "had peculiarity." Or, to adopt his terminology, in the former case they were "Without Propriety," *sine proprietate*, in the latter case they were "With Propriety," *cum proprietate*. Then he had a strange term, "Opposed Propriety,"<sup>1</sup> which was not much used; but it was applied to ligatures with a tail to the first note upwards, as . And how these ligatures can have arisen we cannot tell; for there is no sign in the Gregorian notation from which they can have arisen; and probably the tail upwards was an arbitrary sign, which he himself may have been the first to employ, for the sake of indicating an equally arbitrary valuation of the first note of certain ligatures. For the use of Semibreves was to a certain extent a necessity in tied notes now, and the upwards stroke indicated, and the term "Opposed






<sup>1</sup> Cap. 7. fin.






Propriety" expressed, that the first note of the ligature should be a Semibreve.

In this way Franco determined the first notes of ligatures, some as Longs, and some as Breves, and some as Semibreves. And he ordered that all the middle notes without distinction should be reckoned Breves.<sup>1</sup> And now there was but the end notes to determine. And here his ruling begins to be arbitrary. For he ordered that the last note of every ligature should be reckoned a Long,<sup>2</sup> if it were right above the second last,—as for instance in the Podatus ligature , it was reckoned a long, in the Pressus ligature

, , in the compound ligatures , , , &c., all different and contrasted ligatures, and yet all agreeing thus far, that the last note was right above the second last : or if it were anywhere below it, as in the Clivis ligature, , the Sinuosum ligature , the Oriscus Ligature , the Podatus and Clivis













ligature , the compound ligatures , , &c., all different and contrasted ligatures, yet all agreeing in this, that the last note was below the second last. But if the last note was above, but yet not right above the second last, that is, if it were to the side of it, then the last note was to be reckoned a Breve: and this occurred in such ligatures as the variant form of the Podatus ligature , the variant form of the Pressus ligature , and in such compound

forms as , , , &c. And similarly must the

<sup>1</sup> Item, omnis media brevis, nisi per oppositam proprietatem semibreviatur.

<sup>2</sup> Item, omnis perfectio longa; et omnis imperfectio brevis.

last note be a Breve, if it were anywhere in Obliquity.<sup>1</sup> And this is a term which we must now explain; for copyists, in writing these waving ligatures, were accustomed, in order to shorten their labours, occasionally to dash two or more of the notes into one thick line, where the sense could not be mistaken, and where the line could easily be construed into its real components; as they would

sometimes write  as , and  as ,  as , and  as ;  as ,  as  and so on. Now Franco skilfully availed himself of this manner of writing, to introduce a new device of pliability into his ligatures; for he said, whenever the last note is in Obliquity, it shall be reckoned a Breve, thinking doubtless to offer an easy way out of a difficulty to whoever would wish to have a short note at the end of a ligature, which by other rulings should be long, since he had only to write it in obliquity, and thereupon it became short. And the principle, as we have said, became established, that all ending notes in Obliquity were Breves. And this is one of Franco's arbitrary rulings, but little can we condemn him for it, as indeed for none of them; for here is one, equally arbitrary, yet equally happy in its workings; for in his exact symmetrising of longs and shorts, those graces of song, the slurred and appoggiaturaed intervals, that the voice was said to limpidly pass through, and were indeed the very toys of singers, or vocal *negligés*, we may call them, must yet submit to his valuing;

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<sup>1</sup> Si duo ultima punctua ligature in uno corpore obliquo ascendente vel descendente commiscuntur, brevietur ultimum.

and since both the Eptaphonus neume and the Cephalicus neume, which were these two, were written in many ways, as *ll J U S*, and the Cephalicus *S P n /*, which had become more reduced after the insertion of the note, appearing as *ll ll*, and *ll ll*, he chose the Eptaphonus neume with the tail to the right *ll*, and determined it to be equivalent in value to a Long, but that with the tail to the left *ll*, he reckoned as equivalent to a Breve, and with the Cephalicus in the same way, counting *ll*, as the Long and *ll* as the Breve, and ruled that the note and its appoggiatura with it must be taken to the time of a Long or a Breve, according to whichever form it wore.<sup>1</sup>

Thus partly by arbitrary ruling, and partly by grasping the entangled threads of obscure tradition and weaving them into unexpected pattern, did Franco create this sublime system of rhythmic music—unaided, if we believe tradition; the sole fount and expositor of a complexity of metric and a complexity of symbol, which is not far from rivalling that of the Greeks themselves.

And now by the art of Franco might those songs of the people be written down, which hitherto existed only by oral tradition, for the Gregorian music, which made no distinction in value of note and time, which were the mainsprings of their melody, was unadapted entirely to give expression to such music, until it was lit up by the genius of Franco. And let us write one of those popular songs, of a later period indeed, but not much later, by the aid of his

<sup>1</sup> Cap. VI.

notation—that is to say, we give it as the copyist has left it to us:—



which we may thus translate,



And how beautiful and buoyant is the melody! and what divine sagacity has been at work, first, to organise and display these forms of beauty, and next to change the cumbrous Gregorian notation into so flexible a medium for expressing them! .

And now there was no excuse for these songs remaining mere matters of tradition, as they had

been up till now, but now they might be set down in writing and preserved; not that their chronicling tended much to any immediate benefit, but has rather served for the gratification and enlightenment of posterity. For the songs themselves were in excellent hands, being the portion of the Wandering Minstrels, whose profession it was to retain the choicest in their memory, and sing them at fairs, or merry-makings, or cottage doors, or wherever else they might find a listener, who would reward their strains with a dole of money or a meal; and wandering as they did through whole countries, and even throughout all Europe in their tours, they disseminated and diffused these popular songs in a manner which could never have been effected, had written intelligence been the only means of communicating them.<sup>1</sup> And at the time we are writing of, that is to say, at the close of the 11th century, these strange itinerants swarmed through Europe, by which time too a copious literature of popular music had sprung up to support them, which we have seen beginning, indeed, years ago amid the dances of the peasants, but now must imagine in its bloom and heyday, and with such gay, strange expositors to interpret it as these. And the Form of these popular songs had remained, with but little change, the same as what we found it then, that is, shaped on the model of the Hymn, and the music running with the words in stanzas of four lines each. Sometimes there were more than four lines, and sometimes less, but this was the ground

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<sup>1</sup> In Germany called "varende lüte," "Fahrende," "Gehrende," "Spieleute;" in France "Menestriers;" in the Netherlands "Ministrelle." For various information concerning them, see Ducange. *Art. Joculatores. Ministelli. Menestriers, &c.*



form, as we have said. And the music repeated stanza after stanza, while the words ran on, exactly in the manner of the Hymn. And the length of the lines was four feet to the line of iambic or trochaic rhythm. But as there were hymns with longer lines than these, and hymns with shorter lines, so also did the songs observe the same freedom at times, though moving as a rule in the ordinary four-foot metre as the hymns did. Then too the influence of the dances had meanwhile been at work, and besides these iambic and trochaic rhythms, which were the First and Second Measures of Franco, those other rhythms, which were his remaining measures or the variations on his first one, had also penetrated widely into the music, and in florid songs were freely intermixed with the commoner ones. And such were the popular songs, and such was the Form of them, at the time we are writing of, when, the First Crusade being over, but the taste for a wandering life which it had communicated still strong in the minds of men, the roads of Europe were crowded with itinerants of all sorts, travellers anxious to see the country, wayfarers idling from town to town, pilgrims *en route* to distant shrines, mountebanks, jugglers, pedlars, tramps, and, among the rest, Wandering Minstrels, gaily arrayed in hat and feather, dressed in fine clothes tricked up with knots and ribbons, with their wallets at their back, and their instruments in their hands, twanging their lutes, or warbling on their flageolets, to beguile the tedium of the journey.<sup>1</sup> They were the kings of the roadsters.

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<sup>1</sup> The description of them is given in Ducange and in the Latin epigrams. Drawings in MSS. and old engravings are all at one in the costume they give them.

Never a tavern on the way but they must turn in to accept the hospitality of a chance comrade, whom they would amuse during drinking with a song or a tune. Never a village but some merry-making was on foot, to which they were always welcome, as indispensable additions to the gaiety. While the fairs which occurred almost weekly the whole year round at some town or another, were points of congregating which they made for in swarms, being always sure of a rich harvest from the rustics who frequented them. Thus, the road was their empire, and perpetual movement their life: then, all the romance of itinerancy too, it must not be forgotten, centred on them. To the country maiden they took high rank among the pedlars and wandering apprentices, which were all the strangers that as a rule she saw. They were her chevaliers and knights of aristocratic breeding, compared to such homespuns as these. No matter if they capered sometimes as they sung, or bent their body into comic attitudes to amuse the bystanders, or indulged in winks or ogles, which were somewhat overstrained. These might be but marks of the polish of the town; and many were the fluttering hearts the Wandering Minstrels left behind them, and many were the love ditties they sang, whose theme was a real one. But even to other observers than these they were wrapt in the halo of romance. They were, no one knew who. Their ranks were supplied, no one knew how. New minstrels appeared from time to time, but even their own brothers could not tell what history had led them there. All orders of people contributed their quota to the minstrel throng. There were gay spendthrifts of the upper classes, who had wasted their all, and were compelled to take to

the road for a living; there were broken-down craftsmen, whose necessities led them the same way; there were wild sparks, who took up the life for the love of the thing, and for the pleasures and adventures it promised them.<sup>1</sup> Then there was another contingent, and a very large one, which came from the monasteries.<sup>2</sup> Strange though it may seem to look to such a quarter for auxiliaries, yet there is abundant proof that monks were leaving the convents, in rebellion against the trying discipline, and were taking to the careless stroller's life instead. And it might happen in this way,—that they were crazy for music, and must needs gratify the passion at all hazards in some more original way than services and choir-singing could afford, or that they were scapegraces, who had fled from the convents in disgrace, and took to their music as the most natural way of supporting them, or, which was the commonest, that they were dissolute fellows, who had been banished their monasteries, and took to a tramping mendicant life instead, and then in the course of their travels falling in with the Wandering Minstrels, they had joined most naturally their ranks, to which their knowledge of music indeed most admirably fitted them. And these monk minstrels at first could not entirely shake off old influences, or else did not wish to do so, finding the aroma of sanctity a useful recommendation to their trade. And they would go about in their frocks and cowls singing legends of the saints in verse, or semi-secular sequences of their own

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<sup>1</sup> Much interesting information is collected about them in Reissmann's *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*.

<sup>2</sup> Fétis would make all the Minstrels come from the cloisters. This is carrying the idea too far.

composing.<sup>1</sup> But this was in the earlier days of the minstrel passion, for afterwards, when recreancy became a common thing, and runaways from convents counted by scores, the monk flung down his habit and rosary along with his vows, and donning the harlequin costume of the minstrel, and with a peacock's feather in his hat, and a lute for his sword of proof, footed it with the best knights of the road.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, and from such various sources, were the minstrel ranks supplied. Nor must we forget a large and perhaps the most worthy division, which were those who took to the life from the sheer love of music. This was the only means of gratifying a musical leaning in those days; to be a professed musician a man must be a wanderer, and many were the pangs no doubt it cost to some, before the love of art prevailed over the love of home, and obtained as the price of its gratification the sacrifice of every social and every domestic tie.

Aud now having said who they were, let us see a Wandering Minstrel at his work. And he has been travelling along the road among a company of good fellows, who have insisted on his turning in with them at every tavern on the way, to taste their free-handed hospitality. And in this way he comes to a village. It is a summer's evening, and the women are knitting at their doors, the men in little knots talking in the street, or lounging on rustic benches outside their cottages in the sunset after the

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<sup>1</sup> Continually had the synods to raise their voice against this recreancy e.g. Statut. Synod. Episc. Leodic. Cap. 12. 5., &c.

<sup>2</sup> In the words of Reismann "Das Leben war so frei & verführerisch. Selbst bei magerer Kost lebte sich mit lockern Gesellen und den Gefälligen Weiber auf der Landstrasse besser als am fetten Tisch im düstern Refectorium."

labour of the day is over. And he scans them all as he passes, and they scan him, till at last he comes to a cottage door, where the good-humoured faces of its owners seem to promise him a supper for his entertainment, and perhaps even a lodging for the night. Then without more ado he makes a pause, and slinging his lute round in front of him, after tempering a string or two with his tuning-key, and a little warbling on the strings by way of prelude, he begins :—



This is the first verse, and he now repeats it on his instrument alone, skipping round the while in a circle with dancing steps, for he holds his lute most conveniently for all sorts of amblings, having it suspended by a piece of blue ribbon round his neck, and most convenient to his hand. This commencement cannot fail to attract attention, and by the time he has reached his third or fourth verse, he finds himself in the centre of a ring of bystanders, ready to applaud and welcome his efforts. And now having finished his first song, he puts on a sedate and painfully lugubrious air, and commences a serio-comic ditty of moral advice to the ladies :—

<sup>1</sup> Ambros on Kiesewetter, II, 288.



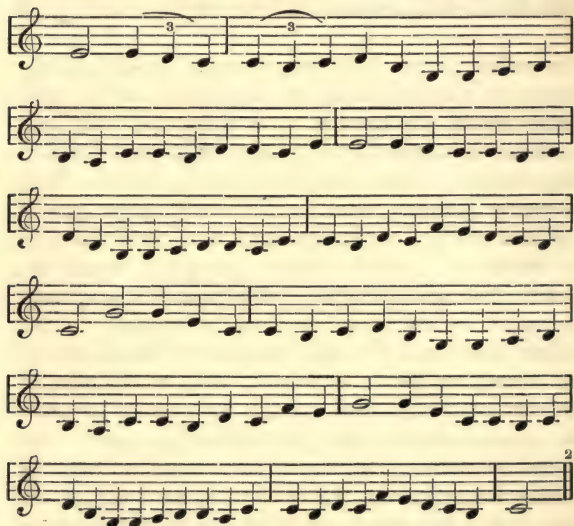


The sallies of this and the following verses provoke plenty of laughter among the bystanders, and he takes advantage of the occasion to doff his hat and send it round for maravedis, and perhaps may get enough to pay for his night's lodging, that is, unless those particular cottagers whom he has chosen as his patrons are kind enough to accommodate him, from the light of whose fire and the bustle going on inside the cottage he can well judge that supper is preparing, to which in no long time he is invited. After supper there might be other occasions for the exercise of his talents, for there might be a dance in the barn, or the celebration of a rustic wedding, for instance, for which his presence was to the last degree desirable. And thither accordingly he went, not without a bevy of sudden acquaintances, for he was good company for every one, as the main actor of the evening's amusement, almost as the master of the ceremonies. What did they want? He could give it them. Did they want a Roundelay? He had one ready.





Did they want a Jig? He was for them.



And so they footed it and danced to his music; and such was the merry life that the Wandering Minstrels led towards the close of the 11th century of our era.

But in the earlier days, and at the start of the

<sup>1</sup> This Roundelay is preserved in the Mystery of Nôtre Dame.

<sup>2</sup> Supra p—

Minstrel movement, for though the Crusades with their propensities of travelling and restlessness had given a marvellous impulse to the movement, they cannot be said to have wholly begun it, for some century or century and a half before this time we have dim and obscure accounts of Wandering Minstrels—and these elder Minstrels, I say, had no such happy lives as those who followed after them, but on the contrary very hard ones. Such a one we have seen in earlier times of our history, admitted under protest to the hospitality of a convent, and a night's lodging there. Yet even he was a junior compared to those dim figures, which loom almost from the mists of legend, as the progenitors and real fathers of the movement. There was an air of shabby gaiety about him, which is utterly lacking to our accounts of them. For they move across the scene with solemn step, furtive, as if shrinking from the eyes of men, as men placed under a ban, or engaged in an unholy calling.<sup>1</sup> Outcasts from the world, it seems, and stooping not to make friends, all doors were shut against them, and they were in the world alone with their art. They were exorcised by the clergy, and the people crossed themselves as they passed by. And why these things should be, was doubtless because they were the first expositors of a Secular music in an age when the whole world was wrapped in the Ecclesiastical style, and thus their strains were considered unholy and profane; while the strange wandering life they led, so new and rare a thing at that time, could not but create in every one's mind feelings of suspicion and distrust towards them. What passion, then, it needed for their art to consent

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<sup>1</sup> The accounts we have of them are almost entirely legendary.

to such a sacrifice of all that men are apt to value—a sacrifice, indeed, which all foresaw, and yet with open eyes they made it, for the love they had to their delightful music. The people indeed employed them to play to them at times, though they despised or even loathed them; and gave them a crust and a truss of straw to lie upon for their pains, and body and soul might thus be kept together; and so these Fathers of the Minstrels wandered from place to place, as their descendants did, but in tattered gowns of blue, and with staves in their hands to support their steps, for they were often footsore and weary, bearing it all for the love they had to their delightful music. And if we may believe tradition, such strains were never heard again from Wandering Minstrel's hand as these weird brethren of the elder craft could produce. Such seductive sweetness as seemed almost unearthly, such notes as drew people from a distance to come and listen to the player, and even to follow him till his playing ceased; or in their lighter moods, such tripping, skipping, hopping airs that compelled men and women to dance *instantly*, whether they would or no. Such are the accounts and many are the legends that reach us to the same effect. On all instruments, for there were players of all of them, their power was the same: the pipe, the lute, the tabor, and the flute, but more than all a strange instrument that had but recently been introduced into Europe from abroad, called the Fiddle or Violin. The Geig it was called in Germany, and the Vielle in France, for it went by many names, and many were the strange stories that had got about, about its wonderful powers of music in the hands of these weird Minstrels. It was said that once when one of them had been brought before the

magistrate on a charge of vagrancy that might have gone hard with him, finding no means of escape he had begun to play his violin, and so set the magistrate and all the court a-dancing, and gone quietly off in the hubbub. Another story that got abroad was this, how a minstrel repaid with interest some scurvy entertainers, by leading them a dance at midnight over bogs and fens and moorland, walking in front while they capered behind, tired and weary, and with nothing but shirts to shield them from the cold. Now whenever the strains of a violin were heard at a distance, as in a wood or a field, some minstrel playing as he walked, the peasants would cross themselves for fear they might be set a-dancing by the strains, or compelled to follow the player wherever he went, for stories to both effects were told. And when the fiddle was heard coming down the village streets, the people would shut their doors and stop their ears. But at last some girl would say, "We must go and have a dance, for such a dance we may never get again for many a day." And a dance was soon struck up, and the fiddler played the "Fiddle dance," as it was called, being known however by its German name, the "Geig" dance, or the "Jig" dance, and excellent dancing it was. One night a number of country people had assembled in a barn, and were waiting for the fiddler who had promised to come. But instead of him a deputy appeared, who was a queer looking man with a sugar loaf hat. And he began to play, and most merry was the dancing; and next it got uproarious, and the dancers now found that they could not stop dancing, however much they tried; and then too late they noticed that the fiddler had a cloven foot, and so they are dancing till doomsday. Similar are the stories that are told



about the Pipers, for there were piper minstrels no less than fiddler minstrels, and lute and tabor players, as we have said. There was a Wendish Piper, who by day would play in the villages, but by night he would be seen on the tops of mountains playing his magic pipe, and whoever heard that pipe of his would never live long after. Now there was a town called Hammelin, and it was infested by mice and rats, and there was no way of ridding the town of the plague; till one day a Pied Piper appeared, who was Satan in disguise, and he rid the town of the rats, but, because his reward was denied him, he began to play his pipe and to walk through the town, and all the little children in Hammelin came running out of the houses and followed that Piper, and he led them to a hill near the city, which opened into two, and they all went in and were never seen again. But the Violin, it was played by the witches at their revels in the Brocken. They had Violins made out of the skulls of horses, and on Walpurgis Night they would all sit in a ring, young witches and old together, playing on their violins. And some of the weird minstrels were supposed to have been present at these revels, and to have learnt their art from thence. And it is known indeed that some did actually go there on that night, with the intent of taking advantage of these tales, and gaining unhallowed secrets of their craft, if by chance they might learn them. And how they fared there, and what they learnt, were but other wonders for the people to speak of, as also that many minstrels had bartered their souls to Satan for the possession of their skill. For such was the art of their playing, and so great their power over their simple audiences, that the vulgar were disposed to believe the grossest

incredibilities about them, reckoning as enchantment that which was only consummate art, and ascribing the entire effect to the power of the player, instead of a great part of it, at least, to the simple susceptibility of their own emotions.

Now a more fortunate lot than these elder minstrels was that of the younger and later ones, whom we considered at first. Their skill may have been less, but their reward was more ; for indeed these wild stories that we have just mentioned about the former, far from bettering their lot, did merely increase the suspicion and even aversion with which the people on every side regarded them, and it was the fate of these pioneers of the minstrel movement, which is not uncommonly the lot of leaders, that the more a man advanced in the knowledge of his art, the more estranged he was from public sympathy, and to attain perfection was in every sense of the word to attain perdition. But the reckless blades who succeeded them were under no such fealty to art, as to sacrifice their life to its exclusive practice, or their comfort to an ideal exposition of it, being often, as we have said, gay spendthrifts, who had wasted their all, and took to the life as a mere means of subsistence, or young sparks, many of them, who pursued the calling for the pleasures and adventures it promised them. Such men as these, we may be sure, would not entertain any very lofty ideas about their profession, and would scruple at nothing to fill their wallet, should the minstrel lay for the moment prove unremunerative. Thus we hear of some of these younger blades, being at a dead lock in a village, where perhaps they had swept charity clean, and had sung their songs dry, and purses would no longer open at the call of music, rig up a platform and

turn quack doctors for the nonce, loudly vaunting the virtues of nostrums and purgatives, that were composed no one knew how, but still were sovereign cures for all diseases; and by these means they would sometimes make a rare harvest from the peasantry. Highly delighted at their success, two or three of them would club together for the hire of a cart, to the end of which they would attach a great drum, and dressing themselves up in fantastic costumes they would ride about from village to village, signalling their arrival by loud beating of the drum, and he who had the largest share of effrontery or the greatest practice in the art, would commence vaunting his physicks. Meanwhile the country people would come gaping round, and in no long time their hard earnings were transferred to the pockets of the minstrels. Others, when reduced to extremity, with similar wishes but different qualifications to the above, would utilise their skill in capering and dancing, which all the minstrels more or less practised as side issues and decorations to their songs, and laying down their lutes and fiddles till better times should dawn for music, would cut capers many feet high to the amazement of the rustics, turn somersaults, twine their legs round their necks or their arms under their feet, and having attracted a crowd by their extraordinary performances send round their hat for contributions. Others of similar bent would find knives thrown into the air and caught dexterously by the handle, a most successful means of extracting money, or even that art of swallowing knives, or eating blazing tow, at which the peasants would stand open-mouthed, and willingly pay I know not what to have the wonderful performance over again.

Such shifts were these poor fellows often reduced

to, for there were many hardships in their way despite their usually merry life, and their wallet was many a day empty, and could only be filled by such dodges as these. Yet most readily would they lay down their legerdemain and their mountebanking pranks, and take to their instruments again, and their singing, and their art, which even the most reckless of them loved better than himself. Their practice of it, under all their hardships, and amid all the mad guises that they were compelled from time to time to assume, was indeed incessant. It was a point of honour among them to be the very best possible player, and what is more to play as many instruments as possible. "I can play," says the minstrel Robert le Mains, "the lute, the violin, the pipe, the bagpipe, the syrinx, the harp, the gigue, the gittern, the symphony, the psaltery, the organistrum, the regals, the tabor, and the rote. I can sing a song well, and make tales and fables. I can tell a story against any man. I can make love verses to please young ladies, and can play the gallant for them if necessary. Then I can throw knives into the air, and catch them without cutting my fingers. I can do dodges with string, most extraordinary and amusing. I can balance chairs, and make tables dance. I can throw a somersault, and walk on my head." Such were the qualifications for a minstrel's life which he boasts of possessing, and such as a rule were the qualifications of them all. And now by these feats of dexterity of theirs, which, once learnt, they were rather proud of showing off, perhaps more than was necessary, to the gaping crowd, they began to get the name of "jugglers," or "*jougeleurs*," which the corrupt pronunciation of dialects transformed into "*jongleurs*," and such was the phase of their history

through which the Wandering Minstrels were passing now.

But these instruments that our jongleur speaks of his power of playing will merit a brief attention ; for some of their names are unfamiliar to our ears, and even in the familiar ones there is something which perhaps may need explaining, for instruments appear here congregated in one group, which before were separate among different families of men, and some that we have lost sight of ages ago are now seen to be revived and flourishing. And first there is the Lute, and when we last had accounts of this it was among the ancient Aryans of India and Persia, since which time the Lute entirely disappeared from view, to reappear again in the heart of medieval Europe. And how this may be, we may well admire. And the Greeks and Romans have had no part in its propagation, for to them the Lute form, and indeed the use of all instruments whose strings are stopped, was entirely unknown, or if known was rejected. We must look elsewhere then for its disseminators, and probably we shall not do wrong if we turn to the great empire of the Arabians for the secret, who conquered Persia and India in the 8th century of our era, and the bounds of whose realms and civilisation extended from thence in an uninterrupted line on the lower fringe of the Mediterranean to Spain and the South of France. And next there is the Violin, and here indeed is a new appearance, such as in all antiquity we have never heard a whisper of. But since the Violin is but a Double Lute, being but two Lutes crossed, and being indeed to the Lute what the Double Pipe is to the Pipe, doubtless we must look to the Home of the Lute for its origin, and to the same disseminators for its diffusers, though this



may well merit a more minute inquiry hereafter. And next there is the Pipe, and with this we shall have no difficulty, as the Pipe was indigenous in Europe before the Roman Conquest, as indeed the String was before the Arabian influence began—but we are now speaking of particular varieties. But if this pipe that our jongleur played, as most like it was, were the Shalm or Wait, that is, a form of hautboy or reed pipe, then we must consider its introduction into Europe as having been actually effected by the Romans, whose *Calamus* was such a reed pipe,<sup>1</sup> as indeed the term Shalm, which is but a corruption of the name, sufficiently denotes. More accurate and undoubted is the Roman paternity of the Double Pipe, which was also an instrument of Medieval Europe—for despite our jongleur's versatility he does not play quite all the instruments of his time—; for the double pipe, which is a most peculiar variety, was neither indigenous among the Anglo-Saxon nations, nor was it ever found among any German nations,<sup>2</sup> but it had been disseminated among these and other European nations from the Home of the European Pipe, which is Italy, by the conquests of the Romans. There was another form of Pipe in use in Medieval Europe, which was not a reed pipe, but of the flageolet order, and this was called more commonly the Flute, being played like the common αὐλὸς of the Greeks, that is, in the manner of a Flageolet;<sup>3</sup> for the cross flute (*flûte transversière*), though it existed, as we have seen, in antiquity, has meanwhile in the Middle Ages dropt out of sight entirely. And next

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<sup>1</sup> This point is proved by Fétis. II.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) No. 3129.

there is the Bagpipe.<sup>1</sup> And in the rough humour of the time the bagpipe was often made to assume the most grotesque forms in its construction. And the bag, being made of pigskin, was often made in the exact shape of a pig,<sup>2</sup> either as a piece of rough humour, as we have said, or else for celerity and cheapness of manufacture, the skin of a pig, coarsely tanned, being sewn up without any attempt to alter its shape, and this being filled with wind gave the appearance of a perfect pig, the pipes of the bagpipe being inserted in its mouth. This was a rare instrument for the jongleurs, for it tickled hugely the humour of the rustics, and at fairs and such occasions it was most commonly employed. Then there were other forms of the bagpipe, equally odd, though perhaps not quite so grotesque: there was the bagpipe with its bag in the shape of a tortoise, being skin sewn into the shape of the body of that animal, while the lower part of the projecting pipe was carved in the figure of its head.<sup>3</sup> And there was the bagpipe in the shape of a serpent, with a long writhing bag, that writhed and wriggled round the body of the jongleur, like the long peacock's feather in his own hat.<sup>4</sup> Then the *Syrinxes* (*frestele*), which he also enumerates in his list, we need not describe; but the name *frestele* may admit of another application, being applied sometimes to a strange sort of flute or flageolet, that had its lower end in the shape of a bowl.<sup>5</sup> And here we may remark on much of the confusion that pervades the musical

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<sup>1</sup> Digby MS. Bodleian Library.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Museum. MSS. Cotton. Tib. VI.

<sup>3</sup> B. Mus. MSS. Cott. Tib. VI.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.

<sup>5</sup> MS. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) No. 3219.

instruments of the Middle Ages and the causes of that confusion; for many of their names were applied in two senses to different instruments, not merely to different instruments of the same order, but to instruments of a totally opposite kind, as the same name would now denote a stringed instrument and now a wind, and hence great confusion arises. Thus, another species of bagpipe, in which the pipes went right through the bag, instead of being merely inserted at one end, was called indeed the Chorus or the Symphony.<sup>1</sup> Yet the term, Chorus, was applied to a peculiar variety of the string form, as we shall soon see, and even to the Violin,<sup>2</sup> to which latter also the term, Symphony, was applied. While the Symphony, in its turn, which differed not from the bagpipe Chorus but in being larger, was freely called the Lyre or the Vielle.<sup>3</sup> In a similar way, the Sackbut, which was a trumpet not unlike our trombone, was also the name of a stringed instrument,<sup>4</sup> though here the explanation is not far to seek, for doubtless this stringed instrument was the ancient Sambuca or a descendant, to which Sackbut was the nearest familiar or pronounceable musical term. Now the Regals were often capriciously called Dulcimers,<sup>5</sup> because perhaps the action of the fingers on the keys was not unlike that of the plectrum or hammer on a dulcimer; while Dulcimers themselves were as often as not called Drums or "Tympanums," a name given to many stringed instruments, and sometimes even to the Lute

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<sup>1</sup> B. Mus. Cott. Tib. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Fétis. Histoire. IV. 422. cf. Aimericus de Pergrato of the Chorus "duplicem cordam perstridentes."

<sup>3</sup> Fétis. loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Gerbert. Tom. II. fin.

<sup>5</sup> Fétis. IV.

itself.<sup>1</sup> And Organistrums were called Vielles,<sup>2</sup> and Psalteries, Cymbalums—but without proceeding to enumerate more confusions, we will rather reserve the common terms for the several instruments, which but for the comparative ignorance of the age would have been the exclusive ones. And next in our jongleur's list comes the Harp. Now this instrument was a small one, and rather a lyre than a harp, being easily portable and carried in one hand, yet of the true harp shape, that is to say, triangular, and with pillar and sound-board;<sup>3</sup> and its home in the early middle ages was with the Anglo-Saxons of England, to whom it seems to have been indigenous, or to them along with other German nations, but most favourite with them.<sup>4</sup> And spreading from England or North Germany it had spread over Europe.<sup>5</sup> And these medieval harps, their pillar is sometimes as thick as their sound-board. And the next instrument that our jongleur could play was the Gigue. And this was but a small form of violin, which being chiefly used in Germany had received the German name of Geig, which in French was Gigue, and in English Jig. And with this, those Fiddle Dances or Jigs were played, that we have heard of before. And it was a small shrill instrument, that twittered most saucily and merrily.<sup>6</sup> And the next instrument that our jongleur could play was the Gittern, which was a small guitar strung with catgut,<sup>7</sup> for by this time the

<sup>1</sup> La Borde. *Essai sur la Musique*. I.

<sup>2</sup> Fétis prefers this name for it even in his *History*. A common term for it was "*lyra mendicorum*." <sup>3</sup> Gerbert. II. fin.

<sup>4</sup> See the illustrations in Strutt's *Horda Angel Cymmon*.

<sup>5</sup> Being played by jongleurs of every nationality.

<sup>6</sup> "*Muliebris vox*" is the term applied to its sound.

<sup>7</sup> Engel's note on the Minstrels' gallery in Exeter Cathedral. Musical Instruments,

Guitar,<sup>1</sup> the most melodious and dulcet Guitar, had been born in Europe, having been brought here by the Arabians, whose *Kuitra* it was, having been received by them from the Persians, whose *Sitar* it was, having travelled all the way from Persia to be the joy of Europe, and the delight of that courtly world of chivalry, which was now beginning to glitter, though its beams are not yet on us. Now the Guitar was strung with wire, but the little Gittern, with catgut, as we have said, and this was all the difference between them.<sup>2</sup> And the jongleur could play the psaltery, the organistrum, the regals, the tabor, and the rote. And the Psaltery had descended from the later Roman period, being indeed a very lyre, though different in shape, having an oblong shape, and also being plucked by the fingers, not struck with a plectrum.<sup>3</sup> And it had been introduced into Rome from effeminate Egypt, or still more effeminate Syria, and had so descended to medieval Europe. And the strings were strung on an oblong frame, as we have said. And this was the psaltery. But the Organistrum was the strangest instrument we have yet described; for it was a lute or guitar with keys, and it was worked by a wheel. In this way:—keys like those of an organ were placed on the neck, and they were raised a little to touch the strings by means of handles at the side of the neck. There were two bridges—one for the strings to go over, as in a common bridge, but the other bridge was a wheel, which was turned by a handle at the end of the instrument; this lightly touched the strings and made

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<sup>1</sup> MS. Roman d'Alexandre (Bodleian.)

<sup>2</sup> La Borde. Essai sur la Musique. I.

<sup>3</sup> Cotton MS. B, Museum. Tib. VI.



them vibrate by friction, and the keys, when pressed against them, made them sound.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes two jongleurs played this instrument together, one turning the wheel, the other managing the keys.<sup>2</sup> But yet one player was sufficient, if need be. And the Regals we already know, but have not heard till now that the Wandering Minstrels used them. But so they did, holding these little organs in their hand, and frolicking with the keys most melodiously either for dances or for songs.<sup>3</sup> And the Tabor was another instrument our jongleur could play, and the playing of this he could not have reckoned high. And he could also play the Rote. Now the Rote was an instrument of many strings, almost indistinguishable from the harp, except that it was squarish rather than triangular, and its sound-board was carried down much below the frame, and the form of the Rote was that of the letter "P." And it was a light, small, portable instrument.<sup>4</sup> And all these instruments could that jongleur play, Robert Le Mans. Now other jongleurs were not behind him. Says Colin Muset, the jongleur, "I can play the flute, the trumpet, the guitar, the harp, the flageolet, the tambourine, the violin, the sets of bells, the organistrum, the bagpipe, the psaltery, the tabor, the lute, the sackbut, the rebeck, the trumpet marine, and the gigue." Says the jongleur, Jacques le Guet, "I play the shalm, the timbrel, the cymbals, the regals, the

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<sup>1</sup> Fétis. IV.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief of the Abbey of St. George de Boscherville.

<sup>3</sup> *Poésies du roi de Navarre*. I. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Most numerous are the forms of instrument to which the name "Rote" is applied. The one at present indicated has the greatest individuality, and stands out from the rest, so as to deserve to typify the others.

gittern, the sackbut, the fiddle, and the lute; the Spanish penola that is struck with a quill, the organistrum that a wheel turns round, the wait so delightful, the rebeck so enchanting, the little gigue that chirps up on high, and the great big horn that booms like thunder." Thus do they go on, trying to outdo one another, as if they were bragging at a fair, or up on their mountebanking platforms selling nostrums. And when many of them met together, as they sometimes did, to celebrate a feast day or to hold a carousal together, what carnivals of music! what showers of chattering sound! and fantastic instruments brought by strange jongleurs, which were the envy of all, and the pets and prides of their owners, whose very natures we cannot even guess at, and can only repeat their designations. "Some of them," says the Latin poem which commemorates one of these celebrations, "were playing harps, others blowing bagpipes, others twanging lutes, others playing pipe and lute together, others tuning up their rebecks; and sets of bells were tinkling, and trumpets braying, and drums roaring; there were symphonies, psalteries, shalms, monochords, all playing at once; there were Gitterns, Regals, Violins, Cymbals, Tabors, Dulcimers, Flageolets, Nabelles, Enmoraches, Micamons, Naquaires, Douceines, Huissines, Elés, Mouscordes, all these were the jongleurs playing. And some were telling stories, and others were making verses." And then the antics that went on. What frolicking! What sport! For they were throwing somersaults, many of them, and walking on their head, and balancing chairs and tables in all sorts of impossible positions, showing off to their brothers-in-arms their latest feats in litheness and dexterity. Language fails the Latin chronicler to describe their doings. He gets bewildered in the

attempt. "He folds himself," says he, speaking of an athletic jongleur, "he folds himself, and unfolds himself, and, in unfolding himself, he folds himself."<sup>1</sup> Such were the merry doings that went on at these assemblies; and the diversity of the instruments may well amaze us, and also those crowd of new ones, whose very names are entirely inexplicable. But let us briefly finish our survey of the instruments, before we proceed with our history of the jongleurs; and not attempting to explain those which seem to baffle us, select those commoner and better known ones, which we have by chance passed over before, and set them down here to conclude the list. And there is the Trumpet marine, which the jongleur, Colin Muset, played; and despite its name it was a stringed instrument, and was doubtless called "trumpet" from the rich sonorous sound of its single string, for it had no more.<sup>2</sup> And it was played with a bow like the fiddle was, and indeed we have accounts of fiddles with no more than one string, although they were comparatively rare. Now we have before heard of the term "trumpet" applied to a stringed instrument, for the Grecian Magadis was called the "trumpet-toned Magadis;" but why the term "marine" should be applied to it was this, that the frame of the instrument was made of a sea-shell, and this was the reason.<sup>3</sup> And other instruments of medieval use which we know but have not yet mentioned or described, were the Cithara, the Nabelle, the Bombulum, the Cymbalum, the Great Horn, the Penola, and the Rebeck. And the Cithara had remained, straight from classical times, true to its original shape, as we

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<sup>1</sup> Se plicat et replicat, se replicando plicat.

<sup>2</sup> It is well described in Hawkins, I.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

have described it among the Greeks.<sup>1</sup> There was however a variant form of the cithara which had grown up, that was somewhat commoner than the pure form of the instrument; and this was a triangular-shaped cithara,<sup>2</sup> almost identical in pattern with the ancient Sambuca. And perhaps it was indeed the Sambuca, though called by another name. In which form it was often confounded with the Nabelle, that was sometimes constructed triangularly and in the shape of the letter  $\Delta$ , though more usually, and as its regular form, in the pattern of a half moon.<sup>3</sup> And it was held with the round part upwards and the straight part downwards, and the strings were strung vertically thus, some fifteen or twenty in number.<sup>4</sup> Now the Bombulum was a most singular instrument, for it was a collection of pipes, a little organ we might call it, but without any resemblance at all to the Organ; for it was in the shape of a knife-cleaner, and the pipes stuck out all round, like the projections on that implement.<sup>5</sup> And how they were blown, or how at all it was played, we cannot tell. The Cymbalum was another composite instrument, but of the bell order. It was a frame full of bells, and they hung in such a pattern, and the frame was so constructed, that it resembled at a distance a great candelabra, nor was there any telling the difference until you examined it nearly, when you found that from its lustres depended scores of little bells, and they jingled and clashed most melodiously when it was shaken.<sup>6</sup> This is the *clochette*, or set of bells, that the jongleur,

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<sup>1</sup> MS. B. Mus., cit. MS. Bibl. Nationale, cit.

<sup>2</sup> Gerbert II. fin.

<sup>3</sup> MS. B. Mus. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.

<sup>5</sup> Fétis. IV.

<sup>6</sup> Gerbert. II. fin.

Colin Muset, speaks of playing, and it was a favourite instrument with the jongleurs. Now the Great Horn was that which Jacques le Guet means, when he speaks of his thundering trumpet, and it was at first chiefly an Anglo-Saxon instrument.<sup>1</sup> And it was so long as to fatigue the arm to hold it, and therefore was rested on a stand while playing, like arquebusses were, or crossbows.<sup>2</sup> The Penola, it was a Spanish violin that was touched with a quill,<sup>3</sup> for violins at first were not all played with the bow, but some were plucked with the fingers,<sup>4</sup> others struck with a plectrum,<sup>5</sup> and others played with the bow.<sup>6</sup> So slow was the progress of that excellent instrument to maturity, and so many were the competing forms that at first sprang up, and by their prodigal luxuriance retarded its development. The Rebeck was a three-stringed violin, played with the bow. It was called the *Violin champêtre*, and was a great favourite with the country people.<sup>7</sup>

And all these instruments could the jongleurs play, and also those fantastic ones whose very nature we cannot even guess at, and can only repeat, as we have done, their designations. And the merry-makings and meetings of these men being such as we have described, we must also speak of their organised gatherings. For in keeping with the spirit of the Middle Ages, which led men to combine in masses, and made Leagues among the merchants, and Guilds

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<sup>7</sup> Strutt's *Horda Angel Cym.* I., pl. 5, Fig. 4. Though it is also called "le grand cornet d'Allemagne."

<sup>8</sup> Strutt. loc. cit.

<sup>1</sup> As the name implies. See Fuertes, *Historia della Musica Española.* I.

<sup>2</sup> *Viole de dois.*

<sup>3</sup> *Viole de penne.*

<sup>4</sup> *Viole de l'Archet.*

<sup>5</sup> Fuertes. *Historia del la Musica Española.* I.



among the trades, and in political life those Secret Societies of which we have heard so much; so also had the jongleurs their Guild or Brotherhood, which had its rules for their welfare, and its contributions from the various members, and which indeed it was their interest by all means to support. For despite the gay life they led, they were homeless and friendless — not even the vague title of a nationality could they lay claim to. For to become a jongleur was to forfeit citizenship and to forfeit country. The Wandering Minstrel from the first day he took to the road henceforth ceased to be the countryman of any nation, and became instead a vagabond of Europe and a common vagrant,<sup>1</sup> for whose protection no laws existed, whose wrongs no court would take cognisance of, and for whose maltreatment, or even for whose death, no punishment could be inflicted.<sup>2</sup> And this was the Guild of the Minstrels and these were its objects, to counteract as far as possible the unkindness of the laws, and to offer by the mutual co-operation of its members that protection which it was impossible for them otherwise to obtain. And one of the members being sick, he received a dole of money or necessities from the common stock, and was not left to die on the road, as it otherwise might have been; and a minstrel, being wronged or maltreated, had proper defenders secured for him by the kindness of the guild, to plead his cause before a court, and in the absence of justice at least to awake compassion

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<sup>1</sup> Heimath-und rechtlos, in the words of Reissmann. Their children were illegitimate. "Minstrels and Harlots" may be found coupled together in the same statute. Blount's *Law Dictionary*, Art. Minstrels.

<sup>2</sup> Grimm's *Rechtsalterthümer*. I. 678.

in his behalf. Now all the Wandering Minstrels in Europe were members of this Guild, which in its turn had its various subdivisions and local branches—to borrow a modern word, we might call them “Lodges,” to these and those of which such Minstrels belonged as were natives of that part of the country, or were accustomed to make it the principal place of their peregrinations. And once a year, on Guild Day, every minstrel of the Lodge would assemble in a great company, sometimes 400 or 500 strong, as at the Guild Day of the Alsatian Lodge of Minstrels, which is described to us,<sup>1</sup> and march in procession to church, after which they would hold their court, and then going to the lawn of the seignorial castle would play their instruments and sport awhile, and finally close the day by a feast in the hostelry. Now the ceremonies of their Court are particularly interesting, for here it was that such barren justice as they might have was administered, and being debarred from courts of law they discussed their wrongs before a Court of Minstrels, which was presided over by their King. Once a year the finest player in the district was elected “King of the Minstrels,” and the badges of his office were a white wand and a crown of gold, and he had stewards, and pages, and a retinue as befitted his mimic state; and he it was who presided over the Court, as we have said. And the Court had no legal power, yet doubtless the publicity with which its proceedings were conducted, acted as a deterrent no less effectual than the penalties of a regular tribunal of justice. And this was how the court was held. After having marched in procession to

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<sup>1</sup> Mattheson. *Critica Musica*. II. 343.

church, with trumpets blowing, and drums beating, the minstrels marching six abreast, with their King and his pursuivant-at-arms in the midst, the court was constituted in the castle hall of the lord of the manor. And first of all, all minstrels in arrears of payments to the fund of the guild were amerced in the amount, and compelled to pay. Then two juries of minstrels were sworn, twelve in each, and they were sworn on the Holy Evangelists. And the King of the Minstrels charged them as follows, that considering the excellence and antiquity of Music, which was an established art in the days of the Greeks and Romans, and considering the skill in it, esteemed so considerable, and that Music is even at the present one of the liberal accomplishments, they should judge and decide as good men and true, and with due regard to the oath they had taken. That although some musicians are counted as rogues and vagabonds, such organised societies as theirs are excepted, to preserve the repute of which should be their greatest concern, nor can they find a better way of doing so than by being upright and righteous in their verdicts. With this, the court proceeded, and the various cases of complaint and injury were brought forward one by one, and decided according to their merits.<sup>1</sup> Now this mimic pageantry of justice, so wholesome and necessary did it seem, was in a manner recognised and acknowledged by kings and princes; and actual Charters remain to us, that give to the Minstrel King full legal rights over his fellows, and the right of free speech and honest complaint against men at large. Such a one is the following, from John, King of Castile :—

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<sup>1</sup> Mattheson, *loc. cit.* Reissmann, *Spilleute*. Scheid. *Dissertatio de jure in musicos*, p. 47. Burney's *History of Music*. II.

"John, by the Grace of God, King of Castile and Leon, to all them who shall see or hear these our letters, greeting. Know ye, we have ordained, constituted, and assigned to our well-beloved, the King of the Minstrels, who is or for the time shall be, to apprehend and arrest all the Minstrels in our honour and franchise that refuse to do the services and Minstrelsy, as appertain to them to do from ancient times, yearly on the days of the Assumption of our Lady; giving and granting to the said King of the Minstrels for the time being, full power and commandment. to make them reasonably to justify and to constrain them to do their services and minstrelsies, in manner as belongeth to them, and as it hath been and of ancient times accustomed. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Given under our privy seal," &c., &c.<sup>1</sup>

And when the court was over, the minstrels adjourned in full force to the hostelry, where a banquet was prepared for them, and sitting at long tables they caroused. And at the head of the company sat the Minstrel King, on this day above all in the year enjoying the full privileges of his office, crowned with his golden crown, and drinking wine out of a silver cup, which passed from king to king year after year, as another of his official symbols, like the white wand and the retinue of pages.<sup>2</sup> He led the revel and proposed the toasts, and held high court in imitation of the mythical King of the Minstrels, King Blegabres, who in their creed was the prime originator of the office; who lived many hundred years before Christ in the land of Nowhere, and topped and tiddled eternally, to the sound of harps, psalteries, rebecks, and flutes, and could play every instrument under the sun, and first

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Burney's *History of Music*. II. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Mattheson. *Critica Musica* II.

founded the gallant company of Minstrels, which since his day had flourished, God be praised!<sup>1</sup> Now as they had a mythical king and pedigree of royalty, whence they deduced the lineage of their monarch, so also had they a patron saint, and let us see how such merry fellows had contrived to establish their strange profession in the Calendar. For they had at first been hard put who to choose, so opposed was the practice of their craft to saintliness, and so alien were the attributes of the saints, and would lend themselves to no such travestysings. Till at last some merry head hit upon St. Julian as a saint that might well serve their turn, for the following valid reason: St. Julian having passed a life of pride and haughtiness repented at last of his arrogance, and resolved to atone for his misdeeds in the past by going to the opposite extreme in the future. He made a vow accordingly to take into his house anybody and everybody; and presuming that among the rest even poor strollers would not have been denied, the Minstrels dubbed him their Patron Saint accordingly. So it was King Blegabres and St. Julian, as the glass passed round, and St. Julian and King Blegabres. And equipped with two such traditionary heroes, they could at least lay claim to a history. Now we must speak of the way they lived in towns, and how the quarter they inhabited was called St. Julian's Quarter. For in the multitude and superabundance of minstrels that now obtained, some found a better market for their talents by hanging about large towns, at least in the summer time, and catering the music that was wanted there for marriages, festivals, and routes. And they all lived together in a street

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<sup>1</sup> Ib.



or quarter of their own. And in Paris this quarter was known as *St. Julien des Menestriers*.<sup>1</sup> And whenever the people wanted music for their entertainments, they would send a message to St. Julien des Menestriers, and a troop of minstrels would in no long time be in attendance.<sup>2</sup> And such crowds of them would sometimes come, in a dull time, or in rivalry with one another, that a law had to be passed, prohibiting more than a certain number from attending;<sup>3</sup> for what with those who were engaged to play, playing and singing inside the house, and a crowd of others, who had come unbidden, blowing and twanging their instruments outside the doors, the street was in an uproar, and such was the general occurrence till these disturbances were prevented by law.<sup>4</sup> But in their own peculiar quarter of the town there was no checking their merriment, and, if we may believe report, a noisy place it was. From every window came the sound of music, from minstrels practising or minstrels carousing; others sat fiddling outside, and girls were romping and dancing in the street.<sup>2</sup> To accustom themselves to the staid life of towns was a hard thing for the Wandering Minstrels to do, and their sojourn there was as a rule but temporary. Yet some were led to take up their abode in towns for good, being principally those who had married, and with a wife and children dependent on them found it more convenient to have some fixed habitation, where they could leave their family during their excursions, rather than submit them to the fatigues

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<sup>1</sup> At present the Rue Rambuteau.

<sup>2</sup> Burney's History of Music. II.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. <sup>1</sup> Burney's History of Music. II.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. La Borde. Essai. I.

and dangers of continual trappings of the road. Paris offered greater inducements than any other town to those whose thoughts inclined this way, for there were many privileges granted to minstrels there, which no other town afforded, some trifling enough, as that statute which exempted all minstrels from toll on condition of their singing a song at the city gates before entering,<sup>1</sup> but others of greater value; and here most of the staid and soberer minstrels began by degrees to congregate. Such a one was the minstrel, Rutebeuf, whose life may be taken as a type of that of the better class of minstrels of his period. He was in his youth at the University of Paris, but falling in with gay companions, and having marvellous talents for music, he was led into a life of gallantry and extravagance, which in no long time brought him to poverty and low esteem. From this condition his musical abilities rescued him, "for he could play any instrument from a lute to a bagpipe," and he led a merry life for some time as Knight of the Road and most transcendent Minstrel; till in an evil hour for his fortunes he married, and in course of time a family of young children looked to him for support. Rutebeuf now had to work hard for his bread. With his wallet on his back and his lute in his hand, he would sally out of a morning into the villages round Paris, sometimes extending his absence for weeks at a time into the country, but more often returning home at nightfall, bringing the contents of his wallet to his expectant family, and sometimes it was empty, but more often it was full. Luncheons

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<sup>1</sup> La Borde I. 315. They also got their charter in Paris much earlier than in other countries.

of bread, scraps of meat, a bottle of wine occasionally, a few groats perhaps—these were the contents of our jongleur's pack; and with this humble fare he appears to have been well content.

“When I come home with a swollen pack,  
Swinging heavily at my back,  
My wife jumps up with a joyful cry,  
And throws her spindle and spinning by.”<sup>1</sup>

This is a domestic picture, but not all jongleurs were so domesticated as Rutebeuf. For most still preferred the wild life of the road, and would have their wife and children accompany them, travelling in caravans, as the gipsies to-day; or strolling about in company with Glee Maidens, or Minstrel Girls, those most romantic figures of the Jongleur life, on whom so much sentiment has been lavished in fiction, which still is nothing to what history might relate. Sometimes these Glee Maidens would wander unaccompanied throughout the length of Europe, passing unprotected through solitary ways, and braving all the dangers of the road, and yet escaping harmless. And one would have a little goat, perhaps, and another a dog, to bear her company in her wanderings, as that Glee Maiden with her violin and little spaniel dog, who is described to us.<sup>2</sup> She was dressed in a blue jacket embroidered with silver, sitting close to her figure; and she had a silver chain round her neck, and gaudy jewellery about her, short petticoats, red stockings, and buskins of Spanish leather. And standing in the middle of the crowd, mounted on a slight elevation, she would play her violin, and sing in time to it. The courts of monasteries were not

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<sup>1</sup> For these details of his life, see his own account.

<sup>2</sup> The pictures of romance have borrowed the descriptions of history, and for that reason may be here reproduced.

ignorant of the Glee Maiden, and in the courtyards of castles she was a frequent figure. Yet the pious monks would shut their eyes as they heard her sing; and when they translated her name into Latin, they wrote it "*Meretrix*,"—'Glee maiden,' "*Meretrix*" 'Minstrel Girl' "*Scortum*."<sup>1</sup> And sometimes the Glee Maidens would travel about in the company of Jongleurs, as we have said, and what additional attraction were they likely to afford, when the hearts of the audience were led captive, not merely their ears alone! So they played and sang, while their jongleur friends cut capers and stood on their heads, in those hard and tight times we spoke of, when music was at a discount, and sensational effects were the only means of raising the wind. And what ingenious jongleur was it, who, to crown the bevy of attractions and deal a striking blow at the humour of the rustics, conceived the idea of taking about dancing bears, as an unfailing means, when all others failed, of filling the hat with money? An old Latin poem describes this apex of grotesqueness, and nearly in the following words:—"A party of Jongleurs and Minstrel Girls came to the village, leading a pair of dancing bears with them. As soon as the jongleurs touched the strings, the bears reared themselves up to dance, and marked the time with their feet, springing very high at times, and often feinting to come to blows with one another, and doing other antics, while the music lasted. Then the bears would dance with the minstrel girls, who sang the song of the dance with most melodious voices; and the bears would dance with them, putting their great paws in their pretty hands, and footing step for step and quite correctly the measure of the dance, growling contentedly the while."

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<sup>1</sup> Vide "*Spilwip*" and "*Spilarma*,"

Such were some of the strange surroundings in which our jongleurs figured, and more we might give. But it is time to pass from their gay doings and romantic life to consider them in the severer aspect of their historical worth, and to ask in what way these merry mountebanks and careless strollers furthered the advance of the musical art, and what is their exact place in musical history. And in an age when all the world was wrapped in the gravity of the Church Song, they disseminated and gave enormous vitality to the common melodies of the people, which but for them must have perished from the face of Europe. In an age also when, in Churches and with the people alike, singing was the utmost that the art of music had achieved, they stepped forward as the expositors of the Instrumental side of music, and this was even a greater merit than the former. Beneath the guise of buffoons and the carelessness of strollers, they hid often the ambition of virtuosos; and we will not repeat the sacrifice which the adoption of their profession often entailed on them, and how they flung all other thoughts aside provided they might still pursue the art they delighted in. Beneath their skilful hands this teeming variety of musical instruments grew up, which otherwise had never seen a genesis. Ancient instruments were revived to satisfy their versatility, new instruments were invented, strange instruments were imported from abroad—and all for the jongleurs. For the upper classes did not deign to play an instrument, and the common people could not, and the monks in their cloisters sang their old antiphons and psalms, as they had done centuries before—and all the novelty and advance came from the jongleurs. Had the introduction of that noble instrument, the Violin, been the sole innovation they



effected, even then they would have merited the thanks of posterity. But as we have seen, the Violin was but one of a crowd, all new, and all Jongleurs' instruments; and thus most important and even transcendant is the historical position of these men.

And we have delayed long over them, indeed, — a thing which they seem to merit — and yet a little longer will it be worth our while to pause, if only to consider a few facts in the history of that most famous of their instruments, the Violin, that we have spoken of, which, coming in an obscure time into Europe, has provoked controversy about its precise original, nor have historians yet been able to give a trustworthy account of the manner of its introduction. And some say, indeed, that Saxon England was its birthplace, and others that it came through Spain from the Arabians; and the claims of these two paternities we may well pause to weigh. And first with regard to the Saxons, it should seem that their claim to the independent invention of a Violin is incontestable; yet that the instrument was disseminated from England through Europe, admits the gravest doubt, being most probably locked up in that island, the delight of none but its inventors, and having its general diffusion from another centre entirely, namely, from the port of the Pyrenees. But meanwhile it had grown up in remote England into the perfect Violin, proceeding by gradual steps to its perfection from the most primitive beginnings, all of which we may distinctly discern with the exception of one, which unfortunately is the most interesting of them all. And first, even in the times of the Britons, we have news through Latin writers and through the Greek, Diodore, of a certain instrument that the natives used, which was so like the classical lyre

there was scarce any telling one from the other. Μετ' ὀργάνων ταῖς λύραις ὁμοίων are the words of Diodore, and Fortunatus expressly compares it to the Lyre, in a distich which has been preserved to us.<sup>1</sup> And having said that the Lyre was constructed with a hollow frame that went halfway up behind the strings, and that it had horns or arms extending from the top, these being joined by a crosspiece to which the strings were fastened, so also had this British instrument a similar construction, only the arms were themselves joined, to make the crosspiece, in the form of a semicircle—and this was the only difference between them.<sup>2</sup> And finding this instrument of the natives so much to resemble the Lyre, we are at liberty to consider that it was indeed the actual Lyre itself, which they had copied from the Romans, or else that it was an indigenous instrument, which by a freak of accident had taken the Lyre's form. To the former of these views, the name of the instrument would seem to point; for it was called by a Latin name by the Britons themselves, being called "*Chorus*," or in their barbarous pronunciation "*Chruth*," which, to write in the form the name has descended to us, is "*Crwth*." To the opinion that it was an indigenous instrument, the national character which it always possessed, and the remote antiquity with which it has ever been credited, will incline us—but without pausing to enter into unnecessary detail, the two views seem to be evenly balanced. Now as the *Crwth*, or as the Ancient Lyre, the Violin existed in embryo in Britain, and this was the first stage of its development. And it was played exactly in the

<sup>1</sup> Romanusque lyra plaudat sibi, barbarus harpa,  
Græcus Achilliaca, chrotta Britanna placet.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Crwth* figured in Gerbert. II. fin.

manner of the Grecian Lyre, that is, resting on the left shoulder, with both hands employed on the strings, the left hand naturally at the back of the strings, and the right hand at the front.<sup>1</sup> Now next, the art of "stopping" came in, and a narrow piece of wood was run up the back of the strings, in the empty space where the horns came, that is to say, from the belly of the frame to where the horns were joined in a semicircular crosspiece. And the strings were brought closer together, so as to allow of their being stopped on this narrow piece of wood; and they, which at first had spread out in their ascent like a fan, were now compact and near together, like the strings on a guitar to-day.<sup>2</sup> This was the next development of the Lyre, or Crwth, in its progress towards the Violin; and now it was a mixture of the Lyre and Lute forms, but more inclining to the Lute, especially when those horns or arms were brought closer together as the strings had been; for their great semicircular expanse was now useless and unmeaning, and they were brought near together, as we have said, till the form of the instrument resembled an oblong, or rather an attenuated oval. And the next step was the introduction of the Bow. And how was this step taken? Here, unfortunately, we are left to the resource of conjecture, for this is the very link in the chain that is the most interesting of all and that unfortunately is entirely wanting. We find in one period crwths, or lyres, the strings twanged with the right hand and stopped above with the left, for they were held as we hold a violoncello to-day, only,

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<sup>1</sup> In the earliest known MS. drawing of the crwth (of the 7th century), we find this method of holding obtain.

<sup>2</sup> Fétis has engraved an example of this form from a Breton abbey.

being small, on the lap;<sup>1</sup> and in the next period we find the same crwth played in the same position and the same manner, only that the right hand of the player is now furnished with a bow,<sup>2</sup> and we are left to seek how the innovation has come. This is an unhappy lacuna in the Violin's history, and we may well surmise that, in the intervening time between these two periods we have spoken of, some transitional form was in use, which, like the connecting link between definite organisms in natural history, disappeared entirely directly its work was done, and left us only to speculate on what it might have been. And now the next step after the introduction of the bow and the crwth held violoncello-wise, was to turn it the other way in the hands of the player, and hold it as we hold our violins to-day. This was an obvious change, and merely a matter of convenience; and for some time both ways of holding were in use,<sup>3</sup> though the new one eventually obtained the preference.

But meanwhile while the Violin was thus developing in Saxon England, it had been introduced independently into Europe from the Moors of Spain. A dainty instrument was this Arabian Violin, most exquisite and symmetrical in structure compared to the rude carpenterings of the Anglo-Saxons; it came, too, in all the charm of completeness, and in its various forms of rebeck, gigue, rottè, ravè, penola, and vielle, was speedily diffused through the length and breadth of Europe by the medium of the jongleurs. It was

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<sup>1</sup> In all the drawings of the Crwth this manner holds good.

<sup>2</sup> The most pertinent examples are the common engravings of Saxon Kings in Strutt and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> A third method of holding, viz., with the bow in the left hand, is also found.

pear-shaped<sup>1</sup>—for these various forms differed but little from each other except in size, and in the number of their strings,—and sometimes with frets and sometimes without;<sup>2</sup> and the strings varied in number, three, four or five.<sup>3</sup> But four was the general number, and the number of the Vielle's strings<sup>4</sup>, which was the eminent form. Sometimes there were four sounding-holes,<sup>5</sup> sometimes but two,<sup>6</sup> and two were the more common number. And finding now this marvellous maturity of the violin among the Arabians, perhaps by studying its history among them we may find the clue to that secret which baffled us before, how bowed instruments really began, or what gave the first idea of the bow to lute and lyre players. This was the lacuna, so tantalising, that met us in the history of the Anglo-Saxon instrument, and I say that by turning to the Arabians, we may perhaps be able to fill it up.

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<sup>1</sup> This phrase is borrowed from Sandys' and Forster's History of the Violin, where its application is carefully substantiated.

<sup>2</sup> Frets are rather the exceptions and belong to the later forms of the instrument.

<sup>3</sup> Gerbert. II. fin.

<sup>4</sup> Fétis. II. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Gerbert. II. fin.

<sup>6</sup> Ib.





## CHAPTER III.

And the first glance shows us that we shall not search in vain. For what a variety of stringed instruments, in every stage of development, from the rawest and simplest forms to the most artful and laboured masterpieces of beauty, presents itself to our eyes, when we turn to the music of the Arabians! and in what luxury and untold profusion do they come! There were thirty-two varieties of Lute alone, fourteen varieties of Violin, and fifteen varieties of other stringed instruments, such as Dulcimers and Lyres—sixty-one in all.<sup>1</sup> And they played into one another, these instruments, form passing into form, and new blendings of shape arising, in a manner that is most surprising to consider. And the Lutes go diminishing from five-stringed Lutes and four-stringed Lutes, of large size and of small, decreasing string by string, till they taper off into one-stringed lutes, a large family of every kind of shape, from the shape of a lute to that of a simple bow. And the Violins in the same way, they vary from three, four, and five-stringed violins to two-stringed and one-stringed violins, the latter a large family of every kind of shape, from the shape of the violin to that of its bow. And the Dulcimers and Lyres we need not particularly speak of, for they do not concern us here, but we must follow the Lutes and Violins. And now in their long and slender forms, which are

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<sup>1</sup> Kiesewetter. *La Musique des Arabes.*

often attenuated to one string, as we have said, and, but for trifling details, so nearly resemble one another that the Violin is hard to tell from its bow, and both are almost indistinguishable from the pair of Lutes that lie by them—I say, in these slender and delicate instruments we may read the history of the Violin from its very alphabet. For first came the simple Lute that was plucked by the fingers, and then another Lute was used to strike the strings of this first one, in order to increase their brilliancy and power. It was a kind of plectrum, indeed; and why a Lute should be used to serve this office, was because the slenderness and lightness of the make of some of them rendered it a most natural thing for the hand to use. Then it was found that by making the string of the second lute of hair instead of catgut, it might be rubbed or drawn across the strings of the other one instead of struck against them, and with far finer effect in tone. When this was done, the Violin had seen the light; and thus the Violin is in reality a Double Lute, being to the String family what the Double Pipe is to the Pipe family, and most interesting and poetical in its genesis.

And where was this charming ingenuity and ease of instrumental growth propounded? Not in Arabia; for the earliest accounts which we have of the Arabians represent them as receiving their Violins fully fledged from another nation, and in this other nation we must search for the nativity. For it was in the middle of the 7th century of our era that the Arabians, then a raw race of warriors, conquered the luxurious and highly civilised country of Persia, and among the prizes which fell into their hands was the heritage of the Persian music. In Persia, the land

of the Sun and of the Morning, this royal brood of strings had seen the light. Here from unknown antiquity the Double Lute, or Violin, had lain concealed, till it was made the common property of the world by the conquests of the Arabians. The very name of the Persian instrument was preserved and disseminated by its new masters, for in Persia the Violin was called *Rebab*, and that was the Arabian name too. From *Rebab* we get our "Rebeck," as from *Sitar* our "Guitar."

Yet even in tracing the Violin to Persia, the end of its antiquity is not yet. In those remote districts of the globe, it seems like a thing that has no beginning. For simultaneously with their brothers the Persians, the Aryans of Hindostan had developed the Double Lute to the same perfection. Perhaps traffic had diffused it at a remote period from one nation to the other, or it may have existed half-fledged before the separation of these two great wings of the Aryan race. For there is no question of an independent or isolated creation, since the Hindu instrument had almost the same name as the Persian, being called "*Rabab*."<sup>1</sup> Thus from a great antiquity had the Violin lain among these Orientals, shut up from the world at large. Meanwhile Music had seen a zenith among the Greeks and Romans, and was fast on its way to a second climax, unbeautified by this gay addition to its charms, which Persian minstrels may have played in Persepolis when Rome was still a village, or Alexander have heard from the Indian hamlets, as he sailed down the Indus to the sea.

Since then a great secret of music lay entombed

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<sup>1</sup> Fétis, II. 291.

in the East, which no man divined or even desired until the actual rifling of the treasury came, what credit must we give to those Anglo-Saxons, who in their rude wit groped their way to a similar, if a rougher conclusion, and did independently and unaided what other men had never known but for teaching! Now then we have seen what was the connecting link in their violin's development, and how they too must have employed a small form of Crwth, or lute, as a plectrum to strike the strings with, and then from the Double Crwth, as from the Persian Double Lute, the Violin have proceeded.

And now after the conquest of Persia by the Arabians, all the stores of that garner of culture came pouring into the western world through Damascus Aleppo, Alexandria, skirting round the fringe of Africa, and so on through Tripoli and Morocco into Spain, where they hung for a time in the air, it may be, till the establishment of the Ommiade Caliphs at Cordova gave them a centre, whence they were easily diffused through Europe. And not to speak of the other wealths of musical art, there were sixty-one varieties of stringed instruments alone, as we have said. And the chief of these were of the Lute kind—the GREAT LUTE, "*El Oud*," in the Arabic, which became the Spanish "*Lauto*," the Italian "*Liuto*," the French "*Luth*," the German "*Laute*," the English "*Lute*," and which in its turn was the Persian "*L'Eoud*." And the Arabians made it as the Persians made it (or in other words, it was the same instrument), that is, with four strings, which strange to say were often double ones, and with a large rounded back to the sound-board. And it had three rosettes instead of one—one large one in the ordinary place, and two smaller ones above it, and the head was turned sharply

down at the nut, so as to make a most pronounced angle with the neck;<sup>1</sup>—the KUITRA, which became the Spanish *Guitarra*, the Italian *Chitarra*, the French *Guitare*, the English *Guitar*, and was, in its turn, the Persian *Sitar*, or *Schtáreh*, and the Indian *Sitar* likewise. And the name in Persian means “four strings,” and this was the number of strings on the *Kuitra*. And it was somewhat smaller than the Lute, and differed from it in having a flat back to its sound-board, and in having its head almost straight with its neck. And it had two rosettes instead of three—they were side by side—though, in the form we know it, it has but one rosette. And its strings, which we know as six in number, were then only four, as we have said. Now there is a Kuitra described by Arabic writers of the 11th century with five strings:<sup>2</sup>—the TAMBURA, which became the Spanish *Tambor*, the Italian *Tamburo*, the French *Tambour*, was distinguished from the Lute in being much smaller, in having a shorter and rounder belly, a longer neck, and no rosette; also its strings passed through a ring instead of over a bridge.<sup>3</sup> Now this is one of the most interesting of all the instruments, as its name denotes, and one of those primitive and slender kinds that we spoke of as paving the way for the Double Lute, or Violin. For it has but two long strings, and the Little Tambura,<sup>4</sup> a variety of it, has but one.<sup>5</sup> And the Little Tambura is the very instrument which seems to have given rise to

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<sup>1</sup> Ali of Ispahan. *Liber Cantilenarum*. fol. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> See the elaborate description of the Modern Tambura in Fétis.  
II. For the ancient instrument, Ali. loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> La Borde's 7th variety. *Essai sur la Musique*. I. 380.

<sup>5</sup> Ib.



the Violin, for unlike the Larger Tambura it is not plucked by the fingers, but played by a bow, and the bow is so like the Little Tambura itself there is no distinguishing one from the other. Now we have said that the name, Tambura, was a most interesting one. For what is it but the ancient name, *Pandura*, appearing in Metathesis? For converting it, *Tambura* *Bamtura*, the latter readily gives by the ordinary change of consonants "Pandura," as its identical name. And the PAN-dura, which was the linguistic development of the simpler *Kan* or *Ben*, was that most primitive instrument of our race, which we have before studied, in the "Lyre Period," and it appears again under the self-same name, and as a second time the father of a species. Now the Tambura, in its greater or Single Lute form, is the Indian *Toumura*,<sup>1</sup> as the identity of name implies; but in its Double Lute, or Violin form, that is, the Little Tambura, it is to be identified with the Indian *Ravanastron*, which differs only in being bigger;<sup>2</sup> in which two lutes have evidently been joined, for the bow of the Ravanastron is so like the Ravanastron itself, that there is no distinguishing one from the other:—the SEWURI, which is a species of lute with four strings, but much smaller than the Great Lute, though shaped like it with rounded sounding-board, and its strings were of steel wire;<sup>3</sup>—the BEGLAMA, which is a species of Tambura with a short neck. It had three strings, and unlike the Tambura they passed over a bridge instead of through a ring.<sup>4</sup> These were some of the chief instruments of the Lute kind. Of the Violin kind,

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<sup>1</sup> According to some, there is also a Tambura in Hindostan.

<sup>2</sup> Fétis. II. 291.

<sup>3</sup> La Borde. Essai sur la Musique. I. 380.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.

there was the Little Tambura, that we have mentioned, the nearly fledged violin, and there was the Rebab, the perfect violin. And the REBAB was made with a long narrow body of cocoa-nut wood, and with a sounding-board of skin stretched over a frame<sup>1</sup> And it looks like a lute that is all neck, with a little drum fastened at its back. Such is the Rebab, and, without its drum, the Rebab and its bow are so alike, that there is no distinguishing one from the other. And it is evident that the Rebab has been at one time a Double Lute; but why the little drum is fastened at the back, is to give resonance to the strings. The LYRA. Most strange is the introduction of this name among Arabian instruments, nor can we give much account of the matter; but stranger still is the instrument it designates, for it is most like the Crwth of the Anglo-Saxons, and seems to be a violin that has developed from the classical Lyre,<sup>2</sup> as we hinted that perhaps the Crwth itself was. The name, if nothing else, would point to such an origin; and this would merit extended inquiry, were it not that some say, having evidence for their words, that the Lyra was indeed the Grecian Lyre, and having come in its original shape from medieval Greece to Arabia had the bow applied to it after the pattern of the Rebab and other instruments, and that it is a late and artificial species of the violin form. The RAVE. Its name will remind us of the Indian Ravanastron, though in shape it resembles the Rebab. It is to be identified with the Persian *Kemangeh*, having like it a foot to stand on, being played violoncello-wise, which also was the case with the Rebab itself.<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> La Borde. loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> La Borde. loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Ali of Isaphan. Lib Cant. fol. 69.

MARABBA. With the Marabba we are introduced to a new family of violins, which were the rivals of the rebabs; and had their rivalry been a successful one, most strange would have been the shape of our violin to-day. For the Marabba had a neck like a lute, but a sound-board shaped like a great spade, though broader at the bottom than the top, and it had a leg to stand on, and was played violoncello - wise. It had one string only, and the spade-like sounding-board was made of skin stretched on a frame.<sup>1</sup> Most strange therefore would the shape of our violin have been to-day, had the Marabba family of violin gained the ascendancy. Yet that the Marabba had some influence in giving its ultimate form to the Violin we cannot deny, for the pear-shaped form which the Violin took afterwards among the Moorish makers of Spain, though owing its pear shape undoubtedly to the Little Tambura, owed its flatness, perhaps, to their reminiscences of the Marabba; for it is strange that the Rebab, so powerful in influencing the instrument's growth, had little or no weight in determining its form. The ROTTE. This was a violin of the Rebab family, with two or three strings.<sup>2</sup> And these that we have given are the chief of the Lutes and Violins that the Arabians introduced into Europe. They in their turn had received them from the Persians; and now we must speak of the Dulcimers and Lyres which were the Arabians' own. For neither is a Lute to be found in Semitic Arabia, nor a Lyre through the whole length of Aryan India and Persia,<sup>3</sup> but each race keeps to

<sup>1</sup> La Borde. *Essai* &c. I. 380.

<sup>2</sup> Kiesewetter. *Die Musik der Arab.*

<sup>3</sup> This fact is happily demonstrated by Fétis.

their own. But for that the indigenous Dulcimers and Lyres, which the Arabians introduced, were of very small influence in European music, we shall only mention the chief in each class. And there were 15 varieties of them, as we have said, and of the Lyres the chief was the Great Semitic Lyre, which we have often described before, with seven strings, and now sometimes eight;<sup>1</sup> and of the Dulcimers, the Kanoon, which was a flat dulcimer with strings of wire.<sup>2</sup>

All these instruments came swarming into Europe through the port of Spain, and we have seen the most prominent of them already in the hands of our European jongleurs, but now are beholding them amid that great and wonderful race, who were the carriers of art and culture to a benighted world,—the Arabians of the Middle Ages. For while Europe was plunged in the profoundest darkness, that is, about the 8th century of our era, the Caliphs of Bagdad held a refined and dazzling court at their luxurious capital, monarchs of a united empire which extended from the Ganges on the east to its westernmost limit at Tangiers on the west coast of Africa, and comprised within its boundaries the countries of India, Persia, Syria, Arabia, the most fertile districts of Africa, that is to say, Egypt, with the whole of Barbary and Algeria; while the luxuriousness of their court was imitated, and even rivalled by the Ommiade Caliphs of Spain. To journey from one end to the other of this immense empire required continuous travelling for nearly a whole year to accomplish it, and a caravan, starting from Morocco in the sultry heat of an African

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<sup>1</sup> Kiesewetter. *Die Musik*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

spring, would have arrived at the borders of Tartary, when sleet and fog were announcing the approach of winter to the merchants of Samarcand. Meanwhile there was yet India to trace, and at their back, and still untouched, the rival empire of the Spanish Caliphs, whose rich domains embraced Portugal, Andalusia, Granada, Murcia, Valencia, and most of New Castile. And the centre and meeting-place of all the wealth and luxury was the great city of Bagdad, which for the time being was the mart of the world. It received from caravans the manufactures and produce of Persia, Kurdistan, Armenia, and Asia Minor; the wares of Egypt and Africa came pouring in through a series of bazars, that extended in an almost unbroken line from Grand Cairo to its gates; while argosies, unlading at the port of Balsora, despatched in fleets of boats up the Tigris the muslins of Bengal, the spices of Ceylon, sandal wood from Malabar, silks from Mousul, gold and silver stuffs from the looms of Surat, pearls from Baharen, and coffee from Mocha. Such was the populousness of the place, that a public festival could be attended by eight hundred and sixty thousand men and women of Bagdad and the adjoining district; and such was the wealth and luxury of the Caliphs, that the Caliph Mahdi, in a single pilgrimage to Mecca, expended six millions of dinars of gold. His train of camels laden with snow astonished the natives of Arabia, and refreshed the flowers and liquors of the royal banquet. His grandson, Almamon, gave away two million and a half gold dinars before he drew his foot from the stirrup, and at the nuptials of the same prince, a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride. The great palace of the Caliphs in Bagdad had thirty-



eight thousand pieces of tapestry hanging on its walls, twelve thousand five hundred of which were of silk, embroidered with gold. The carpets on the floor were twenty-two thousand in number. And among the other decorations of rare and stupendous luxury was a Musical Tree, made of gold and silver. Its glittering foliage spread into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a multitude of birds made of the same precious metals. While the machinery affected spontaneous motion, the birds warbled their natural harmony.<sup>1</sup>

But it was in the reign of Almamon's predecessor, the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, that the art of music attained its highest perfection in this capital of the world. And to consider in what the perfection of the Arabian Music consisted, we must consider what the Music itself was. And it was the purest type of a Vocal Music that we have met since the days when we studied the same Semitic music among the ancient Hebrews. Hence the ready welcome which the Arabians gave to stringed instruments—the perpetual consorts of the art of song; and the highest precepts of their theorists aspire no higher than this. “To be a good musician,” says one, “it is necessary to make your hearers understand the words as you chant them.”<sup>2</sup> “A good musician,” says Ali of Ispahan, “will have at his fingers’ ends a hundred pieces of poetry, and countless songs, both humourous and melancholy. He will have a fluent tongue, and a copious command of speech; and he will be a good grammarian, and know how to form his sentences

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<sup>1</sup> Gerbert (*De Cantu*. II.) gives a fanciful illustration of this tree, which Gibbon describes.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Chaldun, in *Fundgraben des Orients*. II.

properly.”<sup>1</sup> Another praises a clear pronunciation, another an abundant wit, another a refined sentiment.<sup>2</sup>—so that it is plain that in the language even more than the music did the music lie, and that the Arabian conception of the art is even too freely defined by the use of the term, Song. The typical Arabian minstrel was the same then that he is now, who comes to the courts of the houses, and extemporises poems and recitations, among which must not be forgotten the crowd of compliments which he showers on the master of the house, and the gallant speeches he makes to the ladies, beginning with the stock formula, “Shut your eyelids, ye eyes of the gazelle.”<sup>3</sup>

Now we have compared the Arabian Music to that of the Hebrews, and in one respect they were very like indeed, that is to say, in the prominence which both gave to the voice and to Language. But in other respects they were entirely different, for the Arabian music was no expression of exalted sentiment, or messenger of the religious impulse, as we found to be the case with those ancient Semites, but entirely Secular and worldly, a toy of gallantry, a refined amusement, and, so far from partaking in the religious feelings, divorced and alienated from religion altogether. The practical spirit of Mahomet had from the first set itself in opposition to that unbending and relaxing of the soul, which we call Music. “Your prayers,” said he to the people of Mecca, “if music form a part of them, will end but in piping and hand-clapping.” And elsewhere he denounces it in these terms, “Music and singing cause hypocrisy to grow in the heart, as water makes corn to grow.”

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<sup>1</sup> Lib. Cant.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

<sup>3</sup> Fétis. Histoire. II. p. 107.

So there was no music in the Mahometan Heaven, and the houris, though made of pure musk, and dwelling in houses of hollow pearls, were constrained to waste their dalliance in an eternal silence. And on earth, in the same way, there was no music in the mosques; even bells were disallowed, to call the faithful to prayer; and the muezzin must needs mount the minaret to do that duty with his voice, which other nations, less rigid in their rulings, have assigned unsuspiciously to instruments of harmony. Thus banished from its natural and ennobling liaison with religion, music became to the Moslems an illicit pleasure, like wine was; and it grew up amid myrtle blossoms and the laughter of women, and became most like to its companions. Frowned at and execrated by the earlier followers of Mahomet, it was next connived at, and at last could appear in public places, and even before the caliph himself. For in the days of the earlier caliphs, we read how, agreeably to the law of Mahomet which forbade the practice of music, a young man was apprehended with a lute in his possession. Brought before the judgment seat, the caliph asked him what that thing was. The young man replied: "Commander of the faithful, it is called a lute. It is made by taking some of the wood of the pistachio tree, and cutting it into thin pieces, and gluing them together, and then attaching over them some cords; and when a beautiful girl touches these cords, they give forth sounds more beautiful than the sound of rain falling on a desert land."<sup>1</sup>

But by the time of the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, all such restrictions had passed away, and the art

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<sup>1</sup> Lane's *Arabians of the Middle Ages*.

was cultivated freely by the whole world, though still in the secular sphere alone. And the principal musicians at the Court of Haroun were Ibrahim of Mossoul and Ishak, his son, Zobeir Ibn Dahman, Jesid Haura, El Garid of Mecca, and Ebn Sorcidschuma, his rival,<sup>1</sup> together with the famous musicians, Serjab, and his pupil, Mousali,<sup>2</sup> who, though we hear but little of him by comparison with others, is yet said to have been the most famous musician of the East.<sup>3</sup> And of these the patriarch was Ibrahim of Mossoul, whose life was chiefly passed and his fame secured in the reign of the Caliph Mahdi, Haroun's father; and in the reign of Haroun himself, his position was that of reverend ancestor of the other musicians, most of whom had owed their instruction to him. Yet he still exercised the strongest influence, as we shall see, and was emphatically the Court musician of the time.<sup>4</sup> Zobeir Ibn Dahman was born at Medina, and went to the Court of Bagdad along with his brother Abdallah. The following incident brought him into notice: The Caliph, smitten with the charms of one of his favourite slaves, composed a piece of poetry to her, and desired the musicians of his Court to set it to music. More than twenty melodies were made, yet none pleased the Caliph so well as Zobeir's, who accordingly received the prize, and a reward of 20,000 dirhems. On another occasion the same Zobeir received 50,000 dirhems for one song, and being told to demand whatever further reward he wished, he asked for a country house; but

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<sup>1</sup> These with many more are enumerated in Ali of Ispahan.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Lane's *Arabians of the Middle Ages*.

<sup>4</sup> In history and in fiction alike, this position seems assigned him.

the Caliph gave him two villages.<sup>1</sup> Such were the lavish recompenses that were bestowed on the musicians, and amid such princely patronage we cannot wonder that the art of music speedily reached its highest perfection. Of one musician at the Court we are told that he sang so sweetly some fell into a trance before him;<sup>2</sup> and of El Garid and Ebn Sorcidschuma, the two rival singers, both excellent and both enchanting, we hear that a lady could find no other thing to compare them to than the pearls and gems which are hung round the neck of a beautiful girl, all of the finest water, and all so alike that there is no choosing between them.<sup>3</sup>

Now the first musician who brought female singers into the harems was Jesid Haura,<sup>4</sup> whose name we have already mentioned. Up till then only male singers were allowed admission there, and they were compelled to sing behind screens and awnings; and with this cumbrous arrangement the Arabians were well content till the time of Haroun, when greater freedom in all things seemed to develop itself, and the ungainly partition of the music saloons was done away with, and singers, who could no longer shock the fair audience with their persons, filled the interiors of the seraglios. With a looseness for which he has often been reprehended, Haroun ordered that, during performance, female singers should always expose their faces.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps his design was to please the senses by beholding the emotional play of the features, in a style of song where all was emotion and passion;

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<sup>1</sup> Fétis. II. 13. sq.

<sup>2</sup> The effect of music on the hearers is well illustrated in Power's History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain.

<sup>3</sup> Anecdotes Arabes. Paris. 1752. I.

<sup>4</sup> Ali of Ispahan. fol. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Lane's Notes to the Arabian Nights. I. 203.



perhaps he intended by the regulation to deter the more modest from a life, which must soon lead to depravity and ruin. Whatever were the reason, the regulation was productive of the very effect he dreaded, and the female singers of Bagdad were notoriously of the class of courtesans. Dokak, Dinamir and Kalem - ess - Salihijeh, were the more famous among them, and the latter, who was an elegant player on the lute, was bought by her possessor for 10,000 pieces of gold.<sup>1</sup> But the most celebrated of all was the singer, Oreib, who besides a singer was a profound musician, a poetess, a composer, a wit, and the most skilful player on the lute of her time. It is related that she knew by heart 21,000 melodies, any one of which she could at a moment deliver either on the strings or with her voice; and the faculty of learning a tune immediately after hearing it added daily to the stores of her memory. Her history reads like a romance. She was bought when very young by Abdallah ben Ismail, but was carried off from him by a gallant, who kept her for six months a close prisoner in his house in the country. At the end of this time she escaped, and fled back to Bagdad, where she supported herself by playing the lute in the public gardens. One day she was surprised in her occupation by her former master, Abdallah, who had her beaten with rods for her elopement, but afterwards in remorse gave her 10,000 dirhems. Next she was bought by the Caliph for his seraglio<sup>2</sup>—but her adventures, which are but half concluded, and which have the merit of representing the typical life of the Bagdad singing-girls of the time, would cease to interest by reason of the repetition of elopements,

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<sup>1</sup> Fétis. 13. sq.

<sup>2</sup> Anecdotes Arabes. Paris.

captures, and sales which make them up. Now before the fashion of introducing these singers into the harems had begun, the practice of employing women singers at banquets and festivities had already commenced in Mecca. Abdalla ben dschudan was the first to begin it,<sup>1</sup> and the two female singers he bought to decorate his banquets were known in Mecca as "The two Grasshoppers;"<sup>2</sup> and he was fain to keep open house while he possessed them, such was the rage to hear their voices. And after him, Jabala ben el aiham, also of Mecca, multiplied the number of performers. He had ten women lute-players and five women singers at his banquets, and we are told that the floor was sprinkled with myrtle, jasmine, and other fragrant flowers; precious odours in gold and silver vases were carried round; if it were winter, logs of sandal wood were burnt in the fire, if it were summer, snow was piled in heaps at each corner of the apartment.<sup>3</sup> Yet these displays of luxury were nothing to the magnificence that surrounded the music of the caliph. Preceded by a hundred flambeaux of white wax, borne in the hands of as many young eunuchs, who were followed by a hundred more, with naked and glittering scimitars, the brightness of which almost rivalled that of the flambeaux themselves, the caliph moved to the music saloon of his palace, where at the end of a great hall, twinkling with a thousand lustres, and ablaze in its walls and ceiling with all the colours of the rainbow, a broad platform stood thronged with singing-women and lute-players. At his entrance they touched their instruments, and tinkling sounds rippled

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<sup>1</sup> Ali of Ispahan. *Procemium*.

<sup>2</sup> Ali of Isp. p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

in thousands through the spacious hall, while the caliph took his seat among the ladies of his harem. A constant succession of choral singing and playing was varied by the efforts of soloists, and the most beautiful voices were tuned in their best melody, for it was well known that nothing excellent would go unrewarded. And later in the evening the dancing girls came in, dancing in scores through the spacious hall, like flakes of snow falling, or a flock of white doves let loose to fly, while lutes and violins, in sweeps of music, tempered them to time and tune. And shall we say those light gazelles, the dancing girls who tripped and flew, the *coryphées* who started out from this delightful company—the dances of the single dancers, who fluttered like houris in wreaths of gauzy silk—these things which fable delights to report we must leave for fable to dilate upon,<sup>1</sup> and pass from the Caliph's Music Halls to the music of the life beyond him. For if music was a luxury and a dissipation in his palace, so was it equally among all the citizens of Bagdad. In their gardens, perfumed with roses, and refreshed with fountains and tinkling waterfalls, they sat in the summer's evening beneath the boughs of fig trees and pomegranate trees, listening to the delightful warblings of the lute, or while some singer poured his extemporised strains, in which the wit and now the melancholy alternately excited the laughter or sighs of the company. And as the added accompaniment to the delightful concert, yet still essential to it, there were wines, and odours, and aloes wood, and orange blossoms, and rose water sprinkled on the hair, and

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<sup>1</sup> The descriptions of fiction may well be utilised, where history ceases to describe.

ambergris in censers burning near, and flowers of every hue. For what says the poet?

"Dost thou not see four things must be when music is afoot,  
The lute, the dainty dulcimer, the light guitar, the flute?  
For these 'tis meet four odours sweet in contrast we oppose,  
The myrtle flower and violet, the lily, and the rose.

Yet even these must fail to please, unless four more combine,

A garden rare, a mistress fair, gold cups, and ruddy wine."<sup>1</sup>

And another in the same way sings, "What go with wine and the lute? The jasmine, the eglantine, the orange flower, the lily, sweet basil, wild thyme, the lotus, the pomegranate flower, the poppy, the crocus, flax blossoms, and almond blossoms."<sup>2</sup> And, "Wine is the body," sings another, "Music is the soul; and joy is their offspring."<sup>3</sup> And as the mate of wine and laughter, and very queen of all delights, did Music live in Bagdad. And at the Rose Season, which lasted for two full months every summer, when all the gardens in that city of gardens were in bloom, they would take perpetual holiday, and abandon themselves to the irresistible delights of fragrance and sweet sound. And many would wear rose-coloured clothes during the time, and they would have roses festooned in thousands about their chambers, and the very carpets on the floors sprinkled with rose-water. And this is the song that went round in the gardens, and the lute twittered its melodious accompaniment, "The season has become pleasant. The time of the Rose is come. Drink your wine in the mornings

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<sup>1</sup> From the Arabian Nights. "The Porter and the Three Ladies of Bagdad." (Original version.)

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in "The Porter and the Three Ladies." (Orig. version.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

and enjoy the sunlight, as long as the Rose has flowers."<sup>1</sup>

And let us be present at one of these delightful concerts; and entering the gate of the house into the court, for all the houses alike had verdant courts in their centre and the house itself ranged round it, we shall see a balcony and awnings to it, and gilded minarets, and private rooms with curtains hung before them, and in the midst of the court a sheet of water, and a fountain throwing up its spray. And since this is a sumptuous dwelling of one of the upper class, at the end of the court a raised dais of cypress wood set with gems, with a curtain festooned in front of red damask silk, the buttons of it pearls as large as nuts or larger. This is filled with musicians, whose melodious music serves to fill up the time, till all the guests have arrived, and the collation over, and the wine passed round, the freedom of the party has begun. Then they depart, and the guests are left alone. And there they sit beneath the afternoon sun, laughing and conversing in a circle round the water's rim, till at last a proposal is made for music to add its charms to the general delight. Then one of the damsels arises, and takes down a bag of damask silk, with green cords to it and two tasselled balls of gold drooping from their ends, from a pin in the wall where it had been hanging. And she unties the bag, and takes from it a lute fit to accompany singing, and she tunes the strings, and tightens the pegs, and leaning it against her bosom she begins to sing. And all is hushed as she sings, for her voice is softer than the zephyrs, and more sweet than the

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<sup>1</sup> Hammer Purgstall in Fundgraben des Orients. II.



waters of Paradise. Then each of the other maidens in the company stand up, and taking each an instrument they break forth into song. And as they look at their lovers, they see them lost to existence. And now a lover takes the lute, and, looking at his mistress, he sings of a maid lovely in countenance, her eyes edged with kolir, her locks long and dark black, with pouting lips and perfect in her shape, as if she were some lithe graceful branchlet or the slender stalk of a sweet plant, to daze and bewilder the imagination. "Dost thou understand," he asks, "what I sing?" "Nay!" she says, "but I am delighted even by the beauty of thy fingers." Now night drops her wing upon them, and the moon comes out and the twinkling stars. And still they sing and dally by the fountain.

Such was the music and such were the delights at Bagdad in the days of the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid.<sup>1</sup> And the lute, that all could play, was that same Persian lute that we have told of before. And it was made of twenty-one pieces of maple wood, glued together, and separated from one another by twenty filaments of St. Lucie wood. The face was flat with three rosettes in it, and the back was full and round, and the strings were of catgut, and the nut, where they turn down between the pegs and the neck, was

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<sup>1</sup> The social life of the time is best illustrated from the descriptions of fiction. With regard to the influence of the Music on the hearers, the following passage from Mr. Jorsen's Notes to the Arabic version of the Thousand and One Nights may be quoted: "The effect produced by music upon the people of the East is often very powerful. When under no restraint, they give way to the excitement of the moment, and vent their feelings in exclamations and cries. I have frequently been told of men being completely overcome, falling senseless, and fainting under the influence of music."

of ivory.<sup>1</sup> And it was kept in a bag of damask silk,<sup>2</sup> as we have said, but sometimes it was hung up by a ribbon tied round the head, which sloped at almost a right angle with the neck.<sup>3</sup> Now the first man who brought the lute to Arabia, and with it the delightful music that accompanied it (for many writers say, that even before the Persian conquest the instrument had come among them) was the musician, Ebn Musaddschidsch of Mecca.<sup>4</sup> The story goes, that he heard some Persian workmen singing who were building a house at Mecca, and he was so affected by the style of the music they sang, that he determined to go to Persia itself, and there learn the Persian art of song. And he wandered to Persia by way of Syria, and in Syria he learnt the Greek style and Greek lyre-playing, which was far more refined than the homely Arabian lyre-playing, that up till now he had alone been accustomed to. And from Syria he reached Persia, and there learnt the Persian style of singing and how to play the lute; and these secrets along with the instrument itself he afterwards brought back to Mecca.<sup>5</sup> His life and wanderings offer a fair type of the life of many an Arabian musician of earlier days, before the patronage of the later Caliphs began; and there were scores of such minstrels wandering about the cities of the East, delighting the world with their songs, and gathering from all parts the traditions of culture, which meanwhile lay scattered and could only be

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<sup>1</sup> Ali of Ispahan. fol. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Tenth Night (Original Version.)

<sup>3</sup> In some Arabic MSS. I have seen this method of hanging the lute.

<sup>4</sup> According to others, it was Nadr Ben el-Hares Ben Kelde.

<sup>5</sup> His life is in Ali. Cantil. Lib.

gained at the cost of often weary pilgrimages: of whom the chief was Mabad.

He was a native of Medina, and his earlier life seems to have been passed in wanderings, much in the manner of Ebn Musaddschidsch's, though afterwards he received the patronage he merited at one of the caliphs' courts. And he tells his story in his own words, and it gives us a marvellous insight into the minstrel life of Arabia, and shows us how earnest and disinterested were these early men in their devotion to music, and also what shifts they were reduced to, to gain the knowledge of it. "When I had given myself up to singing," says he, "and the fame of my singing had made some noise in Medina, and not only in Medina, but also through many parts of Arabia, and I began to obtain glory in the world, I said to myself, 'I will go to Mecca, that I may hear the singers who are there, and sing my songs to them, and in this way arrive at a knowledge of their style.' For my soul burned with the desire of knowledge, and I was anxious to gain acquaintance with all kind of singing, that I might become great. So I bought an ass, and rode to Mecca. And when I got there, I sold my ass, and asked in what place the singers wont principally to assemble. And the people said to me, 'At Koaikian, in the house of a certain man.' So I went to the house of this man early in the morning, and knocked at the doors. But he said 'Who is there?' I said, 'Come and see. And may God preserve you!' He coming opened the door, and asked me who I was. I answered, 'A man of Medina.' Then said he, 'What do you seek?' I answered, 'I am a man who is delighted with singing, and I imagine myself to have some trifling skill in this art, and having heard that the

singers of Mecca are accustomed to assemble in your house, I have come to hear them. Wherefore I beg you to admit me to this assemblage, and give me the opportunity of sitting near you, for little trouble shall I cause you, and what I hear will profit me much.' Then the man said, 'Come in, then, and welcome!' So I went at the hour appointed, and sat down near them. And the singers came in one by one, till they had all assembled. They did not take my presence kindly, and asked, 'Who is that man?' But the master of the house said, 'He is a man of Medina, a lover of song, and he comes here only for his own enjoyment. He is neither a spy on you, nor is he an enemy, but a man of peace who wishes you well.' Having heard this, they bade me welcome, and we talked together. Next they joked, and drank, and sang. But I was delighted with their singing, and I told them so, and they were delighted at my words. When we had passed some days in this manner, I learnt some of their songs, from hearing them sing them, yet without them perceiving it; and then others, and then others. Then I said to the host, 'Hear me sing!' and he said 'Surely you cannot sing?' I said, 'You shall hear, and perhaps at the same time I will compose something.' So I began, and, putting forth all my powers, I sang a song. Then he and all of them cried out, 'You have sung well, may Allah save thee!' And then I said, 'Hear another song then!' So I sang another, and they listened, and at the end gave even more applause than before. And in this manner I sang to each of them some song out of his stock that he had sung before, and they were astonished, and said I was a better singer than they. And then I said, 'Let me now sing

you one of my own songs.' Which when they heard, they redoubled their applause; and I sang them another, and another, and another. And they fell on my neck, and said 'We pray thee by Allah! for thou art a man who has won fame doubtless heretofore, and art plainly a proficient in the art of song, tell us who thou art?' And I said, 'I am Mabed of Medina.' On hearing this they gave me hearty praise, and kissed my head, and said, 'We have indeed heard your name, but did not know thou wert so great a singer. Tarry with us yet awhile, and we will spend pleasant times together.' So I tarried with them a whole month, busied with learning songs of them, and they learnt songs of me. After this I returned to Medina."<sup>1</sup>

This however was but the first of his wanderings, and we hear of him in Syria, and Persia, and under the burning suns of Egypt, still wandering, and gathering from all quarters the lore of his art. And meanwhile the excellence of his singing had increased to such a height, that wonders are reported of it. It is said that people fell into a trance as he sang, and let us hear a story from his own lips, that wears the aspect of the soberest truth.<sup>2</sup> "Hot was the day and sultry, Allah forgive me for complaining! but the sun was beating down from mid heaven, and I was on my camel in the Ethiopian desert, with my lute before me, and I was sore fatigued, and almost dead with thirst. And I came to the tent of an Ethiopian, who had water-pots at the door of his tent. But he was a boorish man, who would neither let me enter his tent, nor taste the water at

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<sup>1</sup> Ali of Ispahan's *Life of Mabed*. Ali's life is plainly an edition of some genuine autobiography.

<sup>2</sup> Ali's *Life of Mabed*.



his door. So I got off my camel, and rested outside in the shade, and took my lute, and began to sing. And in a little while the man ran out and said, 'Oh! servant of Allah, come into the tent, and take of the water and some barley meal to mix with it. and tarry with me till your weariness is over.' But I said, 'A cup of water is sufficient for me. I will not receive more at your hands.' And having drunk a little water, I went on my way." And in course of time Mabed came to the Caliph's court, and he became a musician in the family of the Barmecides. And his renown began to spread through all the East. And his most celebrated songs were seven in number, and they were known as the "Seven Castles," for when some one had said to him, "Koteiba ben Moslim has taken by storm seven castles or seven states in Khorassan, in each of which a castle was built, that up till now had been deemed impregnable," Mabed answered "I have composed seven tunes, each of which is more difficult than the storming of those castles."<sup>1</sup>

Such were the early minstrels, who, though not enjoying such liberal recompense as the later ones we have mentioned, may yet be supposed to have equalled them, or even exceeded them in skill. And among the rest of the minstrel tribe we must not forget those strange itinerants, the Calenders, who were a sort of half mendicant, half minstrel, and would call at the gates of houses, and perform songs and dances for alms. They carried no instruments with them, but were supplied with what they needed by the people of the house, and the Persian lute, the Arabian lyre, the Tartar pipe, and the Egyptian

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<sup>1</sup> Ali. loc. cit.

dulcimer would generally meet their requirements;<sup>1</sup> and these instruments were often kept in the porter's lodge of houses, on purpose to serve the turn of the Calenders.<sup>2</sup> For they were most amusing performers, and their odd appearance, which was increased by their beard and whiskers being closely shaven, was always sufficient even of itself to provoke a laugh.<sup>3</sup>

Now we have seen the condition of the Arabian minstrels rise by degrees from that of wanderers in the early times, till by the days of Haroun-al-Raschid and in the persons of Ibrahim of Mossoul, Zobeir, Ibn Dahman, Jesid Haura, and others, they became the companions of princes, and received such liberal rewards as we have said. Now the two most famous of these courtly musicians we have not yet spoken of, namely, Serjab, and his pupil, Mousali, who is reckoned on all hands the most famous musician of the East; for their history leads us away from Bagdad to other climes and other courts, and brings us into connection with the music of Europe—for which reason we have deferred mentioning them till now. For Serjab, the most skilful musician at the court of Bagdad, and beloved by the Caliph, fell a victim to the jealousy of Ibrahim of Mossoul, whose favour was high in the harem, and a series of court intrigues were commenced against him, which ended in compelling him to bethink him of some other patron, and to form the resolution of quitting Bagdad for ever. In his difficulty he turned his eyes to the rival Caliphs of Spain, and wrote a letter to Abderame

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<sup>1</sup> 49th Night (orig. version).

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

<sup>3</sup> Interesting accounts of these wandering mendicants are given in the *Anecdotes Arabes*. Paris. 1752.

II., requesting the favour of an asylum at his court. The petition was granted with more readiness and greater liberality than he could ever have imagined, and bidding adieu for ever to the roses and orchards of Bagdad, he took ship at Alexandria, and arrived in due course at Algesira in Valencia in Spain, from whence he was conducted by a large retinue of officers and domestics, that had been sent to meet him, to the glittering court of Cordova.<sup>1</sup>

Now at Cordova the magnificence of Bagdad did but repeat itself. The wealth of the Spanish Caliphs was even more exuberant than that of their Eastern rivals, for if Bagdad was the mart of the merchandise of the East, the territories comprised in the younger caliphate yielded natural resources far beyond the requirements of its princes. We seem to be transported to the region of legend, when we read of the mines of gold and silver; the iron, loadstone and crystal that was quarried from the rocks; the amber, ambergris and sulphur that could be picked up in profusion from the soil. Silks, oils, sugar, cochineal, saffron and ginger were the easy produce of the fields; coral was collected on the shores of Andalusia; pearl fisheries of immense value existed off the coast of Catalonia; and there were two mines of rubies, one at Malaga, the other at Beja. These resources of natural wealth brought vast opulence to their prince. A small tax even on the 12,000 towns and villages, which lined the basin of the Guadalquivir, would have returned an enormous revenue; but from the whole of his populous dominions, an income flowed into the Caliph's coffers of 160 millions annually. Into this land of wealth

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<sup>1</sup> Fétis' *Epitome of the Life of Serjab. Histoire. II.*

and luxury, then, did Serjab come; and he who at Bagdad was almost driven to beg his bread, received at Cordova a settlement of 30,000 dinars of gold and 300 measures of wheat, which was to be paid him, year by year, by the treasurer of the royal exchequer.<sup>1</sup>

Now in their patronage of art the Caliphs of Cordova evinced purer and more exalted principles than their Bagdad rivals, for while the latter to the last merely fostered and favoured music as one more rose in the chaplet of enjoyment, the Caliphs of Cordova gave serious and systematic encouragement to its professors, preferring those learned in its science to those merely versatile in its art, and endeavouring to repeat in their relations to music the same grave patronage which they extended to literature. For by their assistance seventy great libraries had sprung up in the various cities of Spain,<sup>2</sup> and the Arabian doctors and philosophers of Cordova, who reached their height in Averroes, were already the leaders of the thought and culture of the world. It was therefore with an ulterior motive beyond the mere enjoyment of his melodies, that Serjab had been invited so readily to the Spanish capital; for the caliph, knowing him to be a pupil of the patriarch Ibrahim of Mossoul, who was the father and prime exponent of all the traditions of Eastern music, had conceived that, in the absence of Ibrahim himself, Serjab was the musician who would next best suit his immediate purpose, which was the establishment of a great School of Music at Cordova.<sup>3</sup> Vested therefore with

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<sup>1</sup> Cardonne. *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*. I.

<sup>2</sup> Andres. *Dell' origine e stato attuale*, &c. I. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Fuertes. *Historia de la Musica Española*. I. II.

full powers for the performance of his task, and supplied with a handsome revenue for all the requirements, Serjab commenced his undertaking in a spirit far more liberal than we might have been led to expect. For side by side he caused to be taught not only the Arabian musical system, but also the system of the Ancient Greeks,<sup>1</sup> which he had learnt in his wanderings in Syria, or had received from the instructions of his master, Ibrahim. Nor did he leave the musical improvements of Modern Europe out of sight in his scheme, but engaged two professors to teach the Harmony of Hucbald,<sup>2</sup> as we have described it before in these pages. Here then beneath the shadow of the Music School of Cordova arose those celebrated Doctors and musicians, Farabio Mahomet, Alfarabi, Mousali, Moheb, Abil, Vadil, Ben Zaidan, and others,<sup>3</sup> whose fame is yet enduring in Arabic tradition; while in imitation of the example of the capital, similar Schools in no long time arose at Seville, Granada, Valencia, and Toledo, and other cities in Mahometan Spain.<sup>4</sup>

Now the Arabian musical system, which was first organised here, had been the gradual growth of centuries, and, though owing much of its formulation to the science of the Persians,<sup>5</sup> can yet readily be

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<sup>1</sup> According to Fuertes, there was a definite abandonment of the Arabian system, and a substitution of the Greek in its room. I. Cap. II.

<sup>2</sup> "Et duo magistri legebant de musica de ista arte, quæ dicitur Organum," in the words of Virgil.

<sup>3</sup> Fuertes. *Historia de la Musica Española*. I. Cap. II.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>5</sup> Many of the technical terms in Arabian Music, in some treatises all, as in the *Treatise of Shamseddin al Saidaoui* in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, are taken from the Persian language.



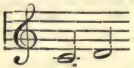
discerned as for the most part an original creation. And being the youngest music that we yet have studied, for it is not till shortly before the time of Mahomet that we get our first accounts of its infancy, the consideration of its character will be interesting to us, and we shall once more see Speech budding into Song, but this time the germination will be most apparent. For that period, which is so evanescent in most musics, I mean that which precedes the assumption of the Diatonic style, when the wavering and hesitating voice cannot as yet step steadily from tone to tone in the manner we understand when we speak of "singing"—this, which passes so rapidly as a rule away, was preserved and paused over by the Arabians, so as to become the basis of their system. Their music consisted not of tones, but of fractions of tones; and their Modes, unlike those plastic scales of sound to which the Greeks accustomed us, were merely wild swayings of the voice within often a narrow compass, such as it would easily fall into in the act of declaiming, from which we must suppose that all music, and eminently the Arabian, arose.

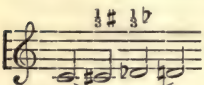
For when we first get tidings of that music, that is, in the days of ignorance before Mahomet came, the Arabian musicians were merely poets,<sup>1</sup> differing in no respect from the ancient Hebrew singers, and, what is more remarkable, using precisely the same form to express the musical colouring of the thought. For they divided their words into equal and parallel periods, and, declaiming them thus in exalted tones, they satisfied at once the musical feelings of their

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. the singers of the Moallacat and others, further accounts of whom than this bare one do not reach us.

hearers, and their own.<sup>1</sup> "He that steps beyond the bounds of Nature," says one of the most learned of their theorists, "cannot be said to make music, but rather folly."<sup>2</sup> And agreeably to this principle did their early music grow up, remaining long in the bosom of Speech, and, when it emerged, carrying with it all the characteristics of its foster-mother. For what shall we say of such subdivisions of the simple

tone as this, which we sing , but they

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the impress of spoken language, and which ran throughout their entire singing as the normal exhibition of the interval? In this way, there was a fusion and blending of otherwise separate sounds, which to the last presented the aspect of idealised Speech rather than of singing, and offered an admirable medium for the expression of poetical thought and graceful sentiment, in which the genius of Arabian music mainly consisted. And the first dawnings of a definite system begin with the evolution of certain favourite passages, or runs of the voice, from the wilderness of Impassioned Speech, which little by little put on the conventional form which enabled them to pass into Modes or Manners of Declamatory Song, And they were six in number at first, but were afterwards increased by twelve more. And the original six, whose character most

<sup>1</sup> Lane's *Arabians of the Middle Ages*. "This was sufficient to satisfy a people passionately fond of poetry, whose first object is to understand the meaning of the verses which are chanted."

<sup>2</sup> *Fundgraben des Orients*. II.

plainly betokens the source whence they have proceeded, were these:—<sup>1</sup>

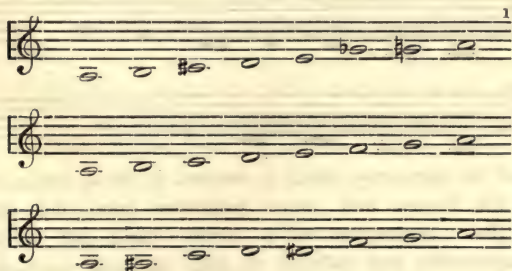


—easy deductions, natural evolutions from spoken language, growing more and more like the ordinary shape of musical scales as they proceed. And we must remember that each progression from tone to tone passes through three intervals, which we have ventured to express by our sharp and flat; and remembering that each sharp is but one-third sharp,

<sup>1</sup> Kiesewetter's "Laut-Tonarten." (*Die Musik der Araber.*) In endeavouring to assign historical precedence to these various modes the author has only had his speculation to guide him.

and each flat but one-third flat, and that both must be allowed for between every tone, it will be unnecessary to write the valuations of these intervals above them for the future. Now these strange fractions of intervals we must suppose to be the gradual crystallising of the fluxions of speech into a conventional musical form, and why fractions should be there instead of perfect notes is because the Arabians have caught the modulations of the Voice and imprisoned them in music, earlier than other nations, who allow them to faint away, and the subsequent Diatonic style to begin, before they rise to the conception of a system. And that this precocity of organisation among the Arabians was mainly due to the influence of Persian science, which met them fully developed at a most early period in their history, will appear in the course of our description later on.

And next other Modes, or Manners of Singing, twelve in number, were added to these original six; and they are more like the normal form of Mode than the latter of those we have enumerated, and show most plainly the gradual progress of musical theory and skill. And these were the following:—



<sup>1</sup> The Makamat. Kieseletter's Musik der Arab.



And the symmetry which is evident in these, compared to the former and more primitive ones, not only in their assumption of a single tonic but in the completeness and fullness of each separate scale, and in the extension of every mode between its octaves, makes it plain that science has had a large share in



their formation; and that it is to the Science of the Persians that we must look for this sudden introduction of order into the naive elements of Arabian song, is equally apparent, when we find six out of the twelve names of these modes to be taken from the Persian language.<sup>1</sup> Also the adoption of the note A for a tonic, and therefore the institution of a quasi-Minor scale, is another derivative from the Persians,<sup>2</sup> who doubtless shared this early form of the musical scale with their kinsmen, the Greeks, since the Arabian scale itself, when fully developed, as we shall afterwards see, was of a far more modern pattern, and possessed a peculiar and unique characteristic, which has exerted a novel and remarkable influence on the music of Europe.

And meanwhile the notes were being named, and the Modes also had been named, as we have mentioned before. And the names of the notes, agreeably to the mathematical genius of Arabic science, were the figures of arithmetic, and there being 17 notes in the compass of the 8ve and before the repetition of the first one began again, these were named 1, 2, 3, 4, &c., up to 17, and these numbers were applied as a nomenclature to the notes with as great freedom and with as perfect a signification as to arithmetical quantities themselves.<sup>3</sup> And the names of the modes were eminently poetical ones, and were designed to express actually or by metaphor the character of each of the several modes themselves. And the names of the

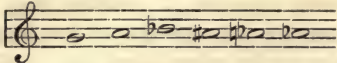
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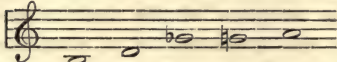
<sup>1</sup> Those of the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th.

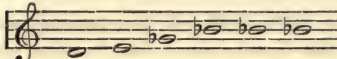
<sup>2</sup> Unless we regard it as directly borrowed from the system of the ancient Greeks by the theorists. cf. Fuertes. I. II. There would seem however to be greater difficulties in the way of this supposition than of the one in the text.

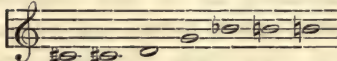
<sup>3</sup> Ali of Ispahan. Lib. Cant.

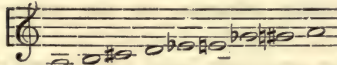
six primitive Modes, or the "SIX AWASAT," as they were called, were,<sup>1</sup>

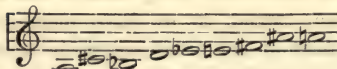
of  , *Shenas*, that is, "the flatttery of a King ;"

of  , *Maje*, "the Treasury of Tones ;"

of  , *Selmek* ;

of  , *Newrus*, "the Daybreak ;"

of  , *Girdanije*, "the Dancing Mode ;"

of  , *Gewischt*, "the Murmur," or "the Whispering Mode ;"

And of the other twelve in like manner, in their order,

<i>Uschak</i> ,	"the lovers,"
<i>Newa</i> ,	"the modulation,"
<i>Buselik</i> ,	"the delight of the harem,"
<i>Rast</i> ,	"the straight,"
<i>Irak</i> ,	"the Arabian,"
<i>Ispahan</i> ,	"the Persian mode of Ispahan,"
<i>Zirefkend</i> ,	"the little,"
<i>Busurg</i> ,	"the great,"
<i>Sengule</i> ,	"the bell,"
<i>Rohawi</i> ,	"the Mesopotamian mode,"
<i>Hussein</i> ,	"the lament,"
<i>Hidschaf</i> ,	"the mode of Arabia Petræa." <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kieswetter. Die Musik, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Kiesewetter. Die Musik der Arab.

And of these, all but a few are directly expressive of the character of the Mode, and have received their title from thence. And the poet must use the greatest discrimination in selecting his Mode, and one of the chief niceties of Arabian music turned on that knowledge: The theorists are never weary of dilating on the expressibility of the different varieties, and common consent has agreed on the following general principles of character, which relate to the last twelve enumerated. The Modes *Uschak*, *Newa*, and *Buselik* were fitted to excite the soul to joy, merriment and courage; they were adapted to the *Seljuk* Turks, the *Ethiopians*, and the mountaineers of *Persia*. The Modes *Rast*, *Newrus*, *Irak*, and *Ispahan* were inclined to a more temperate working on the feelings. They were fitted for men of a subdued and gentle spirit, and therefore adapted to the inhabitants of the Temperate Zone. The Modes *Busurg*, *Rohawi*, *Zirefkend*, *Sengule*, and *Hussein* were weak, mournful, and relaxing, and required the greatest caution in their employment.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the Arabian musical system, as it had grown up by indigenous development and by the influence of Persian science. But now, among the Doctors of Cordova, more extended knowledge and profounder theory lent a new impulse to the progress of the system; and seeing that the canons of Pythagoras and the entire Greek system of antiquity was the constant object of study in the Schools, we cannot wonder that much of this influence is apparent in the new illumination of the Arabian music.<sup>2</sup> Also

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<sup>1</sup> Kiesewetter. *Die Musik der Arab.*

<sup>2</sup> If we were to rely solely on the accounts of Ali, we might imagine that the Arabian system was in every respect identical with the Ancient Greek. So complete, however, is the similitude, that we have no option but to imagine the affinity to go no deeper than learned theory.\*

there was a gathering together and formulating of all the principles of national art; and in a most surprising manner, at the very climax of the learning, the true elements of nature, on which Arabian music reposed, are now for the first time made completely manifest to the sight. And first came the organisation of a general Scale, which should give accurate expression to all the varieties of native song; and in this formulation, which hitherto had existed only in embryo or in the mazy methods of the modes, the principle which was followed is best exhibited in the words of the Fakir Jany-Mohammed-Essaad. "A scale," says that learned theorist, "which does not correspond to the organic inflections of the human voice, is entirely worthless as a medium of music." Accordingly in the institution of the scale, not only was there regard to those fractions of tones, that is, the thirds of tones we spoke of, into which the Arabian singing had at an early time conventionally fallen, but still smaller fractions were introduced, so as to give expression even to that yet more primitive style, before Song had emerged from Speech at all, and which might still be supposed to survive in that half-spoken, half-chanted declamation, which often alternated with actual song in the performances of the usual minstrels. As a frame for these constituent elements, the Tetrachord, so plastic and so scientific a basis of musical arrangement, was borrowed from the theory of the Greeks, and two systems of scale were formed in conjunct tetrachords, as follows :—<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The demonstrations of Ambros (*Geschichte der Musik*. I.) have been impaired by the desire to harmonise the Arabian scale of conjunct tetrachords with the modern scale of 8ves.

1st Tetrachord. 2nd Tetrachord.

3rd Tetrachord. 4th Tetrachord.

5th Tetrachord. 6th Tetrachord. (incomplete.)

40 intervals in all.

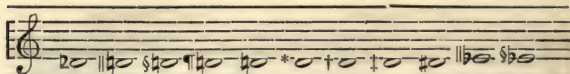
And next, with still smaller intervals, a second system was arranged as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

1st Tetrachord.

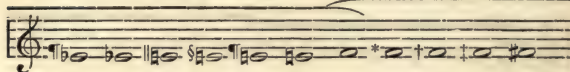
2nd Tetrachord.

<sup>1</sup> La Borde. Essai. I. Ambros. I. Writers have abstained from recording the Lahanis, contenting themselves with indicating that such a system was in use.

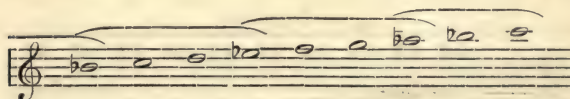




[The other Tetrachords in like manner.



140 intervals in all; and it was called the "System of the Lahanis." And either of these systems were of equally common employment, as also a pure Diatonic system,



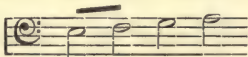
mixed with whatever adornments from the others the taste of the singer might suggest, or employed alone, agreeably to which the Lutes were tuned. For this was the tuning of the Lute, (and it will be seen that though it is based on the diatonic system, the system of thirds of tones is equally practicable of employment, but the "System of Lahanis," which was concerned solely with vocal expression, is not represented on the strings at all):—<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ali of Ispahan. Lib Cant. fol. 52. sq.

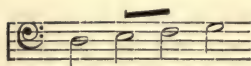
		G (open)	C (open)	F (open)	B $\flat$ (open)		
<i>Subordinate Frets.</i>	...G $\sharp$	C $\sharp$	F $\sharp$	B $\sharp$	...1st Finger Fret.		
	...A $\flat$	D $\flat$	G $\flat$	C $\flat$			
	<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>C</b>			
	...A $\sharp$	D $\sharp$	G $\sharp$	C $\sharp$			
	B $\flat$	E $\flat$	A $\flat$	D $\flat$			
<i>Frets of repetition.</i>	<b>B</b>	<b>E<math>\sharp</math></b>	<b>A<math>\sharp</math></b>	<b>D<math>\sharp</math></b>	...2nd Finger Fret.		
					...3rd Finger Fret.		
	<b>C</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>B<math>\flat</math></b>	<b>E<math>\flat</math></b>	...4th Finger Fret.		
	C $\sharp$	F $\sharp$	B $\sharp$		E $\sharp$	} <i>Frets of Extension on the First String.</i>	
	D $\flat$	G $\flat$	C $\flat$		F		
	D	G	C		F $\sharp$		
	D $\sharp$	G $\sharp$	C $\sharp$		G $\flat$		
	&c.	&c.	&c.		G $\sharp$		
					G $\sharp$		
					A $\flat$		
				&c.			
		4th String	3rd String	2nd String	1st String		

And now, having stated the system categorically, we may proceed to consider it in its historical aspect, which offers most interesting subjects for inquiry. For let us omit for the moment those points of difference in which it contrasts so strongly with the other musics we have become familiar with, and turn to those in which it agrees, that we may compare it with companion systems, and estimate its true place in musical history. And the points of difference are the divisions of the tone into fractional parts;

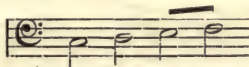
but this is a difference which once appreciated will be found to be an inessential one, and the main bulk of the system will easily be seen to bear comparison with any of those that we have formerly considered, especially if we consider it in its purely Diatonic form, which for the sake of comparison we may be allowed to do. For it has Modes or Manners of singing; a Scale on a definite Tonic; it employs the Tetrachord as a formulating principle—and, without proceeding further in our enumeration, we may briefly state that it is the latter point in its similarity that we would first consider. For when we last spoke of the Tetrachord, which was in the time of Hucbald, we took the licence of regarding it as an infant scale; and we spoke of the primitive tetrachord of antiquity, which flowed directly from the natural and artless behaviour of the voice, that does not attain its full volume at the commencement of its effort, but exhibits a reluctance or weakness, which is the hesitation before the act, or the mustering up the powers to do it. And this weakness appears in the tetrachord as the Semitone, and in antique tetrachords, which were near to nature, the Semitone invariably came first,



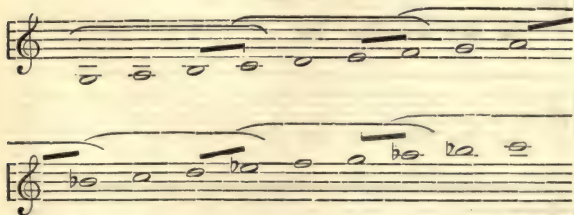
and this we described as the First Stage in the development of the Tetrachord. And the Second Stage was what we found among the Byzantine Greeks of Constantinople, and later and more perfectly in the science of medieval Europe, when an artful form of intonation had taken the place of the earlier and more natural one, and the semitone was forced into the second place of the Tetrachord,



This we described as the Second Stage in the development of the Tetrachord, and here we left it, for this was the universal form in the science of the time, and was the form on which was constructed the Scale of Hucbald, that was the great scale of the early middle ages. And the Third Stage in the development of the Tetrachord, when the Semitone is forced into the last place of the Tetrachord,



had not yet been reached, though we predicted its arrival, and said moreover that it would come from some unlooked-for quarter; and now behold the prophecy fulfilled! For it has grown up among the deserts of Arabia and the minarets of Spain, and the youngest music that we have yet considered in our history has evolved the youngest and latest form of Tetrachord. For let us turn to the Diatonic System of the Arabians, and we shall find that the Tetrachords that compose it are all of this Third Stage of the form,



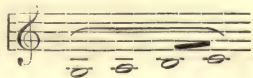
Even in the system of Fractional divisions of thirds,





of the Lahanis; and every other Tetrachord in their systems in like manner.

Now this highly developed Tetrachord which we find in the Arabian Music,

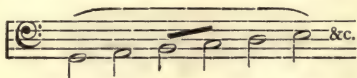


had already been suggested in the Music of Europe by the Gamut of Guido, who, in his Hexachords, had regularly employed a progression of two tones, followed by a semitone, and then two more tones, embowering in each cluster of notes a perfect Tetrachord of the latest and most developed form, yet quite unconsciously, and doing so as it were by chance. For at his time the scale was in a transition period, as we have mentioned, and the doctrine and application of Tetrachords had for the time ceased to exist. Yet in a strange way was the music of Europe working to that conclusion, to which Guido's invention is but one of the indexes. For the hard and fast scale of disjunct tetrachords of the Second Stage, which had been established by

Hucbald, which began  , and

consisted of a series of parallel forms throughout, had fallen to pieces by the exigencies of a daily engrossing Harmony, which altered some of the intervals, and created optional forms of others, and generally deranged the symmetry of the scale so far, as to leave no principle of structure apparent throughout it. Such was the state of musical science when Guido, having no other object than the indication of the semitone in the neume notation,

invented his system of syllables, which he carried so far as to place the semitone in the centre of the set; and taking Hucbald's scale in the distorted form he found it in, he arranged his syllables as



enshrining a true tetrachord in each set, without knowing it,<sup>1</sup> and in most of them a tetrachord of the Third, or latest stage of development.

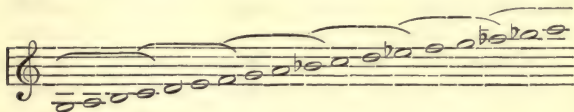
In this clumsy way, and by such mechanical and unwitting steps, was Europe blundering on to the final Stage of the Tetrachord, which meanwhile had flowered in all its newness among the minstrels of Arabia, and was soon to be introduced by the gate of Spain, as that other product of Arabian genius, the Violin, had been before it. And we may well compare the parallel cases, how the Violin had received and the Tetrachord was receiving an indigenous development in European Music, when the introduction of the perfect product from without anticipated the naiveté of native effort, and rendered its further progress useless. And this New Tetrachord, in opposition to the one it was to dethrone, bears the characteristics of what we call "Major," that is to say, it has a greater third, or a full tone between its 2nd and 3rd notes. But the more primitive tetrachord of Hucbald and the Byzantines was "Minor," having only a semitone between its 2nd and 3rd notes. For this reason we may well consider

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<sup>1</sup> To consider Guido's hexachord as an advance in musical science, unconscious though it may have been, rather than as a mere method of instruction in singing, is the fairest way to regard it. Cf. *Infra*. Chap. IV. p. 19.

the Minor as but a more primitive form of musical utterance than the Major; and so we shall prefer for the future to regard it.

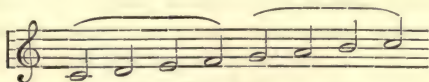
And now having spoken of the Arabian Tetrachord we must proceed to speak of the Arabian Scale, which was composed of many such Tetrachords. And it will be seen that it possesses the remarkable peculiarity of having all its Tetrachords conjunct:—



the effect of which is to introduce much monotony and weakness into the music, and utterly to destroy that happy framing of sounds in octaves, which lends so much symmetry to the music where it obtains. For to constitute an 8ve, the tetrachord must be disjunct, as we saw in the disjunct system of the Greeks,




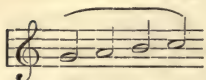
and as we find in our own modern scale,




the effect of which separation is not only to secure the rounded musical contour, which the 8ve at either end gives to the notes between, but, by setting up two distinct groups of sounds, and as it were matching set with set, to effect the possibility of that pretty play of contrast or antagonism, in which we found the secret principle of the art to lie. For that alternation

of Tonic and Dominant, which has so great a part in modern music, is but in its essence the play of

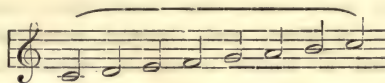
the tetrachord  against the tetrachord

. Our ear most readily distinguishes

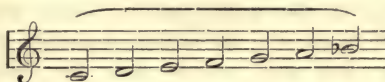
their vicissitude, and the pleasure which it receives is but the constant pleasure of all musical impression, and effected by the same means, that is, by the working of Duality and Contrast, which is typified by the figure of the Angle  $\wedge$ , to which two things are necessary, whether it be  $\wedge$  the long and short of rhythms, or the light and shade of expression, or the duplicity of groups in forms and scales—all to effect the antagonism and contrast, without which there can be no music, but only wayward sound. Now the Arabian music possessed all the attributes of a perfect music, with but this one deficiency, and by consequence its weakness, and yet perhaps its charm, lay in its melody, which was wayward, wild, and vacillating, and quite lacking in that definiteness of intention which the popular music of Europe was now beginning to assume. In contrast then to the Angle  $\wedge$ , the Arabian scale-system may be typified by the  $\frown$  curve , which is the expression of duality merged in unity. And we shall see how this system, coming to the knowledge of Europe, first aided the development of the single Tetrachords to their third and ultimate stage; and, later on, took its place entire in the heart of European music, blending and combining most happily with the elements it came in contact with; how the play of tetrachords was repeated in a play of scales, and the Arabian



was found weaving itself with the European



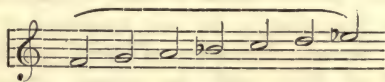
and the Arabian



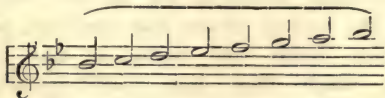
with the European



and the Arabian



with the European



and new parallel combinations and new forms arising. But this is not till late in our history, and most strange shall we find the steps that lead to these results; and in different lands and under different surroundings shall we find those flowers appear, of which we see the seeds now committed to the ground.



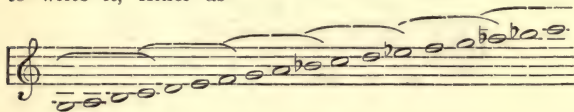
And meanwhile the Doctors of Cordova had added to their science of musical theory by appropriations from the lore of Pythagoras.<sup>1</sup> And it was to give adequate expression to all their various Modes on the projection of their scale that they made their borrowings, and what they took from him was his device of Fixed and Optional notes, which we have treated at length before, by virtue of which he could express both the Diatonic, Enharmonic, and Chromatic forms of every tetrachord at one and the same time on the scale, and by which they now made shift to express the various diversities of Mode. For many and most various were the Modes that had sprung up since last we considered them in Arabia, and those which we did consider had marvellously changed in form, nor can we always explain the reason of these changes, but must simply admit that they had come to pass. Most of these new modes had come into being by the compounding of old ones, as the mode *Uschak*, compounded with the Mode *Rast*, that is, the first tetrachord of *Uschak* with the second tetrachord of *Rast*, or the first tetrachord of *Rast* with the second tetrachord of *Uschak*, in either case produced a new mode, which had to be made allowance for on the scale. And seven of the ancient modes had remained, partly in their original forms, and partly in this composite state, in which they were varied greatly; and five new ones had been added, which also were compounded with the above. And all the Modes, which were 84 in number, could be taken at any tetrachord in the scale, since all the tetrachords were alike; and all, with the exception of these five new

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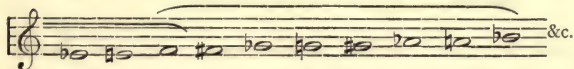
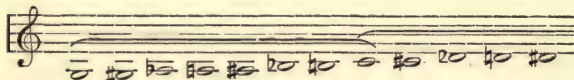
<sup>1</sup> Fuertes. *Historia de la Musica Española*. I.

ones, could be repeated consecutively through the length of the complete scale. But these five new ones and their compounds could not so be repeated, for a reason that we shall see hereafter.

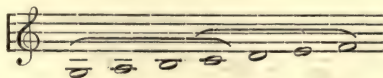
Now this immensity of subject-matter the Arabian Doctors, by benefit of that device of Pythagoras, were enabled to express most succinctly and easily. For taking their scale, in whichever way we prefer to write it, either as



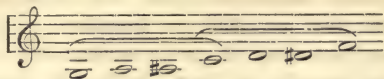
or as



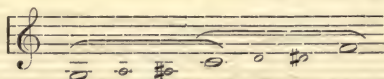
they laid it down that the extreme notes of each tetrachord were Fixed, and the interior notes were Moveable or Optional, and thus any mode, no matter which it be, could be reputed as lying on any part of the scale, provided only the extreme notes of its tetrachord coincided with the extreme notes of the tetrachord, to which it was applied on the scale. For the Mode, USCHAK, indeed, in the form it was now written, does actually coincide note for note with the first two tetrachords, or typical tetrachords, of the Diatonic Scale, as we may see:—



But the Mode, NEWA, will by no means coincide note for note,



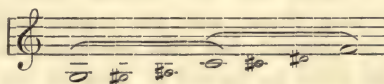
yet by considering its Fixed notes alone, as if we write it by some such symbol as this,



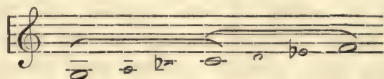
it may well find its place on a scale which is arranged with similar projection,



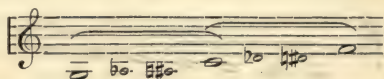
and the other modes in the same way, that is, the Mode, BUSELIK, in the form we most find it,



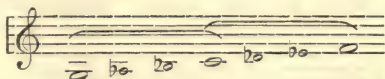
the Mode, RAST,



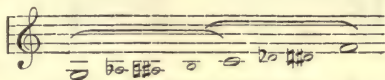
SENGULE,



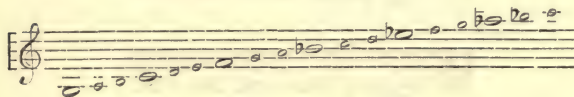
ISPAHAN,



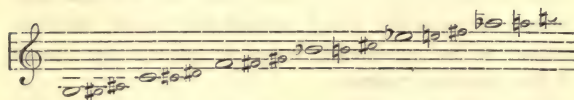
and the Seventh Mode, a new one, whose name we are not informed of,



And these might be repeated, so as to cover the entire length of the scale, or placed at any coincident part of it, not only the first; as the Mode, Buselik, repeated through the scale,



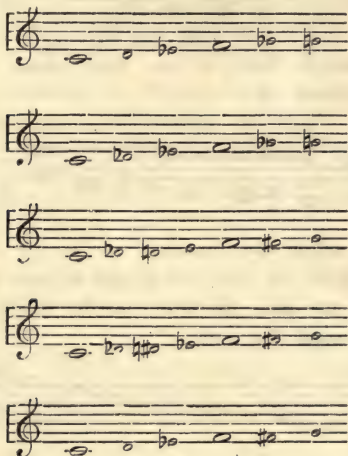
would become



or, placed at any part of it, would easily rank itself in accordance in like manner.

But those five new Modes that we spoke of, could not be repeated up the scale, because in their second half they extended beyond the limit of a Tetrachord, and thus when repetition was to begin they had no starting point of union, but must needs miss notes to arrive at the beginning of the next tetrachord; and thus the ground was not by any means covered by the repetition of these five new modes, and they

hold a position distinct and separate from the rest, and these are the strange additions to their tetrachords,



And it seems as if we were here on the brink of embryo Pentachords, which indeed they in all strictness deserve to be considered, however against the genius of the Arabian system.<sup>1</sup>

Now the materials we have given here were constituted so as to be 84 Modes in number, which was done by halving the Seven Modes, and taking the first half to all the second halves of the entire twelve. This made 84 in number, and mechanical as it may seem, was doubtless found necessary by the

<sup>1</sup> Many of the Arabian theorists arrange the scale by Tetrachords and Pentachords. In these cases we must find the effect of Greek influence, and regard it as a copy of the Pythagorean arrangement, since in no case could such a division of the mode hold in a system composed of conjunct tetrachords, as the Arabian.



theorists so as to systematise a perpetual interchange, which otherwise must have been denounced as mere confusion. Here are the 84 Modes, and their interchange and blending will now be plain how it was effected; and this vicissitude of scales is called the "Circulation of the Modes."<sup>1</sup>

## THE FIRST THABAKAS.

## THE SECOND THABAKAS.

*(each of these must be taken with each of the Second Thabakas in turn.)*



<sup>1</sup> La Borde. Essai sur la Musique. I.



Such then were the excellent results reached by the Doctors of Cordova under the princely patronage of the Abderames, at whose court Serjab, Mousali, Alfarabi, and other eminent Doctors flourished, whose names we have mentioned before. And now let us observe a striking peculiarity of these Arabian Doctors, such as but seldom appears where profound learning is in question. For the most erudite theorists and professors of the science of music were at the same time the best exponents of its art. Alfarabi, whose works on musical theory are no less profound than those of the Greeks themselves, was so exquisite a player on the lute, that fable has made free with his name much in the same way as with the weird minstrels of Europe. Being invited from Cordova to the Court of Bagdad, and when there being detained a prisoner so that his beautiful playing might always be at hand to delight the Caliph, he took up his lute and played to his gaolers. And first he made them all laugh, and next he made them weep, and next he set them quarrelling with each other, and at last he sent them fast asleep, and meanwhile escaped from his prison. No less remarkable are the stories told of Mousali; and the melodious songs of Moheb, after spreading from Cordova through the greater part of the Arabian world, were heard from the lips of minstrels, three hundred years after his death, in the camp of Tamerlane. Even Serjab himself, profound theorist as he was, was no less famed for his skill as a singer and a composer. His songs were so beautiful, that he had little difficulty in persuading his patron and contemporaries that they were inspired by genii in the night time, to keep up which deception he would summon up his slaves with their lutes often at the dead of night, to take down the songs and

learn them, after the genius had visited him. He, also, it was, who, to give greater scope to his dexterity in playing, added a 5th string to the lute, placing it in the middle of the original four, and this innovation began in no long time to be adopted throughout the Arabian world.

Such then were the musicians, learned theorists and no less excellent performers who, under Abderame III.,<sup>1</sup> the Augustus of the West, raised the Arabian music of Spain to a point of excellence, that might well compare even with that of Bagdad itself. Most marvellous, too, are the accounts that come to us of the universality of the practice of the art among the people at large. The lights twinkled down the banks of the Guadalquivir, and, mingled with the breeze, we are told, came the perpetual sounds of instruments and songs, as the boatman glided past village and village on his way. And from every balcony in Cordova came the tinkling of lutes and the melody of voices, in the evening time, so that the city seemed wreathed in musical airs, after the bazaars were closed, and the evening's recreation had begun.<sup>2</sup> But the monarch himself, secluded from public curiosity in his voluptuous retreat of Zehra, tasted of the choicest minstrelsy of the time, amid scenes that may well recall the descriptions of fable. The royal musicians, summoned to furnish the evening's concert, assembled in a pavilion of gold and polished steel, the walls of which were incrustured with precious stones. In the midst of the splendour produced by

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<sup>1</sup> The character of the musicians in the reign of Abderame II. is well preserved in those of his greater namesake, Abderame III.

<sup>2</sup> "On all sides," say Fétis (*Histoire de la Musique*. II.), "were heard the voices of singers, accompanied by the notes of musical instruments."

lights reflected from a hundred crystal lustres, a sheaf of living quicksilver jetted up in a basin of alabaster, and made a brightness too dazzling for the eye to look upon.<sup>1</sup> In this glittering paradise, the scenes of the music halls of Haroun were enacted over again, but with greater pomp; and the Caliph of the West could boast, that, at an age when the glories of Bagdad were fast declining, a new home had been found for the Arabian music, and a more luxurious one than ever it had basked in before. Meanwhile, throughout the length and breadth of Spain, *raouis*, or strolling minstrels, of a type not unlike those of Christian Europe, whom we have described before, were spreading the lore of Arabian minstrelsy,<sup>2</sup> till it reached even the ears, not only of the Spaniards themselves in their northern fastnesses of Leon and Castile, but also the semi-Spanish Catalonians, from whom it passed into French Provence, thence to exercise an untold influence on the music of the modern world.

And let us for a moment pass to these new regions, the rugged districts of northern Spain, from the cultivated Arabians to the unpolished Spaniards, passing from the music of luxury and refinement to the music of nature once more. And we shall be introduced to far different scenes, to the rustic dances of the peasants, to homely piping and singing. And yet it will behove us to watch these dances carefully; for here no less than in Arabian Spain is one of the fountains springing of the young music of Europe. For what do the names *Chaconne*, *Sarabande*, *Courante*, *Bourrée*, suggest to our mind, and in what sublime

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<sup>1</sup> Cardonne. Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne. I.

<sup>2</sup> Faurel. Histoire de la Poésie, &c. III. 338.



pageants of music will they not one day play their part, and be woven with others of their kind into great tapestries of sound, with the fabrication of which modern music is at last at an end? And yet here we may see the beginnings of these things, and find the first threads of the Symphony in the steps of Spanish peasants. And first, we may see what influence the Arabians have had even upon these untutored vassals of theirs, for this slow and measured dance is the *Sarabande*, or "Saracen dance," being danced by the Arabians in Southern Spain, and now imitated by these rude natives of the north.<sup>1</sup> And its time is slow, as we have said, and its rhythm is that of Triple Time. And next, another Saracen Dance, the *Chaconne*, more lively than the former, but like it in Triple Time. And if this be a development of the African *Chica*, as we believe it to be, then has it wonderfully improved in propriety under its new masters. For the *Chica* was a most wild and wanton dance, and we have seen it danced before in this history; but now, as the *Chaconne*, it appears much more orderly and modest. More related to the *Chica* in general character, though not in name and genealogy, was the *Fandango*, a dance as old, we are assured, as the time of the Roman Empire, and so popular as to be the national dance of Spain.<sup>2</sup> And the *Fandango* was danced in couples to the accompaniment of the guitar and castanets, whose crackling rhythm the dancers employed with the utmost precision and grace, to mark the measure of the steps. And the *Fandango* was in short phrases of triple

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<sup>1</sup> Fuertes. *Historia de la Musica Española*. I.

<sup>2</sup> Fuertes with much ingenuity traces it back to the dance of the Gades girls, described by Juvenal.

time, and its motions were in the highest degree amorous and seductive. The dancers danced with their arms held out, inviting one another to embraces; they flung their bodies in wanton attitudes, and struck positions during the dance, that were only too suggestive of the lively emotions they were intended to imitate. The excessive looseness of the Fandango has prevented its general acceptance among the nations of Europe; yet a modified form of it went out from Spain at a later period, indeed, namely the *Bolero*,<sup>1</sup> and consists of many of the Fandango steps, with much of its freedom eliminated. And in the Bolero as in the Fandango, such is the tempest of the steps, and all in triple rhythm and in well marked phrases, that the eye grows weary of watching the play of the feet<sup>2</sup>—and in early times we may imagine the same tendency, if not so high a development. And next came the *Seguidilla*, which had the peculiarity of having much poetry mixed with the music. The singers must sing as they danced, and the verses were in alternate stanzas of four lines and three lines.<sup>3</sup> The music was in triple time, and there were three kinds of Seguidilla, the *Seguidilla Manchega*, which was a most lively and nimble dance, the *Seguidilla bolera*, more tranquil in its movements, and the *Seguidilla gitana*, the easiest and slowest of

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<sup>1</sup> Fuertes at one time inclines to make it a compound of the Chaconne and the Bourrée (p. 186); at another, he puts forward the opinion mentioned in the text, which is the usual one given in the Popular Histories of Dancing. cf. Czerwinsky's *Geschichte der Danzkunst bei den civilisirten Völkern*.

<sup>2</sup> Some have described the Fandango as "a regular and harmonious convulsion of all parts of the body." Gallini in his *History of Dancing* derives the Bolero, no less than the Seguidilla, from the Moors.

<sup>3</sup> Fuertes. *Historia de la Musica Españ.* I.

all.<sup>1</sup> Now these were varieties of the Seguidilla, which grew up in later times in various parts of Spain, as the first plainly, as its name will tell us was developed in the province of La Mancha, and the others in other parts of Spain. For so prolific was the national genius for the Dance, that not only were there these great and prominent dances, that belonged to the country at large, but in every province, whether under Arabian rule or in the Castilian kingdom, dances of every sort and order were fast growing up, that remained for long the heritage of their provincial home, till little by little they passed into the world at large, some to perish there, but others to attain European renown. And thus the Biscayans had their *Carricadanza*,<sup>2</sup> which was danced to the sound of a drum. And the Castilians their *Guaracha*, most graceful and poetic of dances, whose beauty consisted in statuesque posing of the person and elegant attitudes, and which may remind us of the plastic dances of the Greeks. Its music was in long phrases of triple time, often of winning sweetness, and the dancer accompanied herself on the guitar. Yet has the *Guaracha* not taken a part in the European concert, being too delicate it may be to stand the air, and its name conveys but few associations to the mind, beyond those that are purely Spanish. And other dances of the Castilians were the *Serrano*, the *Villarro*, the *Villota*, the *Maya*, the *Gallarda*, the *Giga*, the *Pabana*, and others, some of which they shared with the Portuguese and Catalonians, but many were purely Castilian. And the *Serrano* was a descriptive dance, and to the

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<sup>1</sup> Fuertes. *Historia de la Musica Española*. I.

<sup>2</sup> For this topography of the dances, see Soriano Fuertes. I.

Provençals it became the *Pastourelle*, turning on a dialogue between two shepherds, the words and action of which formed the material of the dance.<sup>1</sup> Somewhat similar were the Villarro and the Villota.<sup>2</sup> But the Gallarda, or *Galliard*, was an elegant dance in Triple time, perhaps not indeed indigenous to Castile or even to Spain, since its name would imply a home in France and more particularly in Brittany, unless we are willing to derive its ancestry from Galicia, which may without much violence be done. And the Giga was but the Spanish form of that ancient "Gigue," or "Violin" dance, which we have heard of before in other parts of Europe, and now find no less popular in dance-loving Spain. But the Pabana was destined, as the *Pavan*, to achieve a world-wide reputation; and it was a gay dance in triple time, and always a wonderful favourite.<sup>3</sup> Now among the Catalonians we hear of dances whose names will be even more familiar to our ears—the *Tornade*, the *Tornadilla*, the *Ballade*, the *Curranda*.<sup>4</sup> And these last two are plainly our "Ballad" and "Courante," the former, that common dance measure, with stanzaed words, that compelled repetitions and induced refrains, and has since become the foundation of so much simple music, the latter, the stately dance which one day we shall see walked in the halls of Venetian senators, and thence transferred into instrumental music, and forming one of the chief pillars in the architecture of the Suite and Symphony—and meanwhile but a few poor steps in the rugged valleys of Catalonia, danced by rough peasants to the

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<sup>1</sup> Fuertes. p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Id. p. 177. sq.

<sup>3</sup> For this attribution of the Pavan to the Galicians, see Fuertes. I.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.

music of flageolet and drum, its *coryphées* gaitered men in red waistcoats and slouch hats, and peasant women tricked up with ribbons and taffeta head-dresses, designing in their simple wit the first rude drafts of what in time was to be so excellent a drawing. Nor must we forget the dances of Valencia<sup>1</sup> and Andalusia in Southern Spain, that growing up under Moorish influences partook so largely of that effeminate and wanton character, of which the African Chica was the great exponent. The *Olla* and the *Cachirulo* were wild and voluptuous to a degree,<sup>2</sup> and we read how, on occasions of great festivals, bands of dancers, Spanish and Moorish intermixed, would congregate in the market places and squares, and abandon themselves to the intoxication of these dances, as at those festivals of Cordova, when the city was illuminated, the streets were strewn with flowers, and lutes, tambourines, and hautboys rang out in the air the whole night through.

But meanwhile, while the peasants were dancing, the Spanish chivalry were arming; and very soon dark clouds were forming in the north, which bade fair to launch ruin and destruction on those gay palaces and pavilions, which had risen, like an exhalation, under the refined Arabian rule, in a rude and semi-civilised land. And soon the Cid was moving on the frontiers of the Arabian monarchy, and now great deeds were to ensue. And what have we to do with wars and battles, and feats of gallantry and

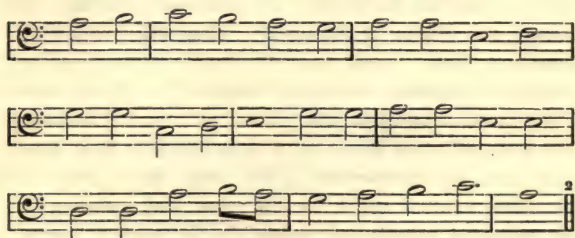
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<sup>1</sup> The excellence of the Valencians in dancing is the theme of constant praise from Spanish writers. Their Egg dance is a famous one, in which eggs are laid in fancy patterns on the ground, and the dancers dance between, without breaking the eggs.

<sup>2</sup> Amados de los Rios. *Historia Critica de la Lit. Españ.* I. Cap. 23.



chivalry? Only with the humbler part of them. For caracoling on prancing steeds, and preceded by troops of jongleurs chanting their war songs, and themselves with strong clear voices joining in the cry, the Spanish gentlemen advanced to the combat, while a hundred clarions brayed their challenge to the Moors. On the other side their swarthy foes, advancing in crowds, like the locusts of the desert, came on to the roar of great copper trumpets and the deafening din of a thousand drums, that were beaten by the hand, to make continual uproar.<sup>1</sup> And what concerns us in such scenes as this is the minstrelsy of the fight; for in the strains that excited the Spanish chivalry to the combat, were heard the first notes of the Romance music of Europe. And let us ask what these strains were. And they were chastened by a stern simplicity, such as was meet for the ears of men, who were advancing face to face with death. And their measure was that same simple ballad measure we have heard so often before, and their strains were such as these:—



<sup>1</sup> Such is the music assigned to the Moors in the *Chanson de Roland*, where the statements of fiction on subordinate issues are as elsewhere to be accepted as historical.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *Fuertes. I. (Laminas.)* as an example of the ancient Ballad measure.

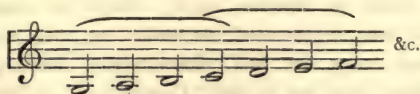
But little different indeed from the Hymns and Sequences, that were intoned by the monks in the services of the church, and presenting through their entire literature but one sublime monotony of measure and of style, of which the above may well be taken as a type. And the Spanish jongleurs, born and bred up in such an atmosphere as this, were of a different cast from all the other jongleurs of Europe; for their songs were of feats of arms, and they had no vulgar tricks to attract their audiences,<sup>1</sup> but rather grave recitals of the deeds of Bernardo del Carpio, of Lara, of the Cid, of Fernan Gonzalez, which they chanted in the style of epic minstrelsy, accompanying themselves on the violin or guitar.<sup>2</sup> Here, too, first began the practice of jongleurs attaching themselves to the person of some patron; and often each chevalier had his jongleur, whom he supported in the state of an inferior esquire, and who sang the ballads which sometimes he himself had composed.<sup>3</sup> And the Spanish jongleurs also differed from the other jongleurs, in most of them being trained musicians, who had studied their art at the University of Salamanca, perhaps, or among the Moors at Cordova.<sup>4</sup> But still Wandering Jongleurs were found also in Spain—"Jongleurs by instinct," '*juglares de mero instinto*,' as they were called, who repeated the life of the Wandering Minstrels of other parts of Europe, though they were very few by comparison. Yet even these were of the same exalted spirit as the rest, and, standing in the midst of crowds of people in the market places, they would sing the deeds of Bernardo del Carpio and the Cid, and so infuse valour into the most timorous breasts.

<sup>1</sup> Marquis de Pidal. I. 100. sq.      <sup>2</sup> Ib.

<sup>3</sup> Fuertes. I.

<sup>4</sup> This point is well brought out by Fuertes.

And while this firm front was gathering on the horizon of their empire, the Arabians of the south, removed from the disturbances of frontier wars, were languishing under their load of luxury and wealth. Entertained by poets and minstrels in their delightful halls, they forgot the existence of that danger which menaced almost hourly their existence, and employed themselves in weaving those arabesques of sounds, which were their songs, and in cultivating that poetry of theirs, which has since become the model of the civilised world. For in the ruin of their empire came the dissemination of its treasures of art and refinement, and the doom, which was hastening on them, was but to bring the day to the world at large. And let us anticipate this diffusion of their culture, by briefly considering that second section of their music, their verse and poetry, which we have hitherto left unexamined, but which to their theorists and to their own conception formed quite as intrinsic a part of the musical art as sounds and scales themselves. For the play of language was at least half the song, and not only in the lips of the minstrel were music and poetry blended, but also in the organic construction of their systems. And first, as we found the Tetrachords of the Scale linked and conjunct, as



so also do we find the nature of the verse determined, each verse being formed of two parts of equal length linked together. And the entire verse was called "A house," and the two parts of it, "the folding doors." And the resemblance they intended to indicate by these terms was this, that each door

is separate and independent, and can be opened and shut of itself, and yet, when both are shut together, they make but one door. So of the verse. Either of the parts might be sung without the other, and yet, when they were both sung together, they made but one verse.<sup>1</sup> Thus was the verse constructed in the manner of the Tetrachords, and this manner of construction went deeper than the music of the hour. For is it not a trace of that old Semitic parallelism, which required two members to every thought and two parts to every verse, and which now appears, after so long a time, in such strange scenes as this? This secret construction of all their music seems a part of the Semitic genius, and as we found it giving birth to Question and Answer, the Semitic Antiphony, as we called it, and to the Antiphony of Choruses likewise, among the Hebrews, so we shall see it insensibly impressing its seal on the form of the Arabian music in like manner. For even in the early times, that is, in Arabia itself, the shepherds watching sheep in the desert are described as whiling away the night by *answering* one another on their flutes;<sup>2</sup> and shortly after that time, and still in the days of ignorance before Mahomet came, we hear of the rise of that species of song, which ever remained the leading order in Arabian music,—when the duality of the verse was represented in reality by *two minstrels*, who each sang his half alternately.<sup>3</sup> This practice in no long time led to the “Contention” of Minstrels, which was a poetical duel, and turned on the challenger singing halves of verses, which the other

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<sup>1</sup> Freytag's *Darstellung*, &c. Cf. Forbes' *Arabic Grammar*. Prosody.

<sup>2</sup> Even in the times of the Greeks, this practice had passed into a proverb. Schott's *Proverbia Græca*. p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Fauriel. *Histoire de la Poésie*, &c. III. p. 337.

was constrained to finish.<sup>1</sup> And the word, "to answer," passed into the meaning of "to sing," in which sense it is used in Arabic to the present day. And now let us see another remarkable result of this duality of phrasing. For as the practice arose of making the length and rhythm of the phrases the same, so there came the habit of making them end with similar sounds; and the melody of Language was first heard as a systematic form in Arabic poetry as Rhyme.<sup>2</sup> This sugared sweetness of eloquence we might indeed well attribute, rather perhaps than to the Arabians themselves, to their Persian masters, who taught them so much; and say it travelled, along with the Lute and the dulcet Guitar, all the way from Persia to Arabia, and by the Arabians was disseminated through Europe. But without considering the precise home of its origin, we will rather credit the Arabians with its complete development, and say that they were its sponsors to the world. And the practice of rhyming each of the phrases, with which the art began, passed subsequently into the rhyming of each of the lines, which was a more flexible and convenient form of application. And the fertility of the Arabian rhyming may well amaze us. For of their two styles of solo songs, the *Casidas* and the *Maouchahs*, the *Casidas*, which sometimes extended for fifty lines at a stretch, contained but one rhyme from beginning to end, that is to say, fifty words of similar termination were at the ready command of the minstrel, to be employed with fluency and ease;<sup>3</sup> while the *Maouchahs*, which were the short lyric songs and love ditties, were so bestuck

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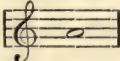
<sup>1</sup> Ib.

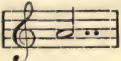
<sup>2</sup> Andres. Dell' origine e stato attuale d'ogni letteratura. II. 194.

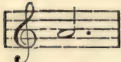
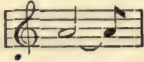
<sup>3</sup> Fauriel. III. 253. sq.



and bespangled with rhymes, as well to merit the name by which they were called, which, being translated, means "embroideries." Now the measures of Arabian music were no less complicate, compared with the simple science of Europe, than its poetry was exquisite and refined. And while, as we have learnt from the system of Franco, European music at this time had but three valuing of its notes, the Long, the Breve, and the Semibreve, and all of triple time; the Music of the Arabians had no less than eight separate valuations of note,<sup>1</sup> which, as was natural in a music that flowed so palpably from the Chant, were based not on Triple Time, but on Common.<sup>2</sup> And now for the first time we find that most convenient accession to musical measurement, the Dot, appearing, which was groped after, if somewhat fantastically, by the Greeks, but had remained an unknown item of notation among the theorists and musicians of Europe. And the Eight values of Arabian notes were these: There was the Long of 8

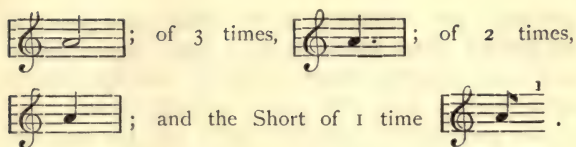
times, equivalent to our ; the Long of

7 times, to our ; the Long of 6 times, our

; of 5 times, ; of 4 times,

<sup>1</sup> Fuertes. *Historia de la Mus. Españ.* p. 77. Ali of Ispahan only gives four valuations. It must be noticed here that the little circles in his MS., by which he denotes the beats, must be understood rather by their look as the hand would write them, than by their exact position beneath one another—a method of explanation, which only results in needless confusion.

<sup>2</sup> Fuertes. *loc. cit.*



And these notes were distinguished from one another in the music by paints of different colours, being painted Green, Rose, Blue, Yellow, Black, Azure, &c., each value with its separate colours.<sup>2</sup>

Such were the complete materials of that refined and artistic music, which now we shall hear for the last time. For by this time the battle of Tolosa had been fought, and even Cordova was in the hands of the Christians. And the great Spanish Caliphate was broken up into a crowd of petty kingdoms, which even more than the onslaught of Christendom brought about its ruin. And it was at this time that Mahomet Alhamar transferred the seat of the principal Moorish kingdom from Cordova to Granada, and revived once more, though in the magnificence of a falling grandeur, the glories of the dynasty of the Abderames. And Granada lay in a Vega, or "plain," which was watered with infinite springs, and diversified with dales always verdant, forests of oak, and groves of orange trees, fields of corn and plantations of the sugar cane. The city itself, rising in terraces in a half moon from the river, still the Guadalquivir as of yore, presented a picture of tiers and tiers of turrets and gilded cupolas, surmounted by the Alhambra; and for a background, the majestic Sierra Nevada, covered with eternal snow. Here, I say, was revived once more the spirit of that former age of glory, and the

<sup>1</sup> Ib.

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

gallantry and sentiment of the Moors was seen in its greatest lustre before its final ruin. The servitude and subordination which Oriental customs impose upon women, had now almost entirely passed away in the open life of European Spain, and the language of love was as freely spoken by Moorish Cavaliers, as ever its accents have sounded in Christian lands. From under balconies in the evening time might be heard the lutes and voices sounding; and the *Serenade*, or "Evening Song," which the lover sang to his mistress, attained its justest perfection in the gardens of Granada. The language of flowers, the language of colours, the hearts pierced with arrows,<sup>1</sup> emblems of the gallant warfare, were but side lights to that chief expression of their passions, the Music. And let us listen to some of those delightful songs, to whose utterance the tender and emotional character of the Arabian minstrelsy lent itself so well:—<sup>2</sup>

*Ah! ma gazelle.*

*Very softly.*

Ah! ah! ma ga - zel - le Ah! c'est la plus

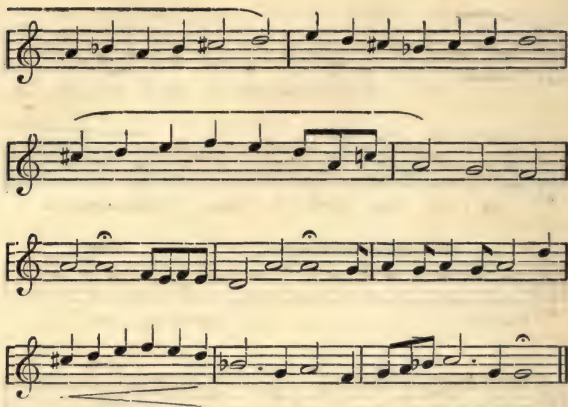
bel - le Sa noi - re pru - nel - le

m'a dit a - mour, doux a - mour. Viens! bel - le sul -

<sup>1</sup> It is strange to find these emblems bear so distant a date, and be derived from the gallant Moors of Granada.

<sup>2</sup> I have not hesitated to write this Moorish air of later date as an exemplification of that earlier style of sentiment, of which so few specimens are preserved to us. Quoted in Fétis. II.





And we shall see how wild and wayward is the melody, as we have before described its character, and how the music is so charged with passion, that every note betrays the accents of the heart.

And passing now from the exterior life of this gay Granada, let us visit the monarch in his palace, and hear for the last time in the Saloon of Music in the Alhambra those admirable concerts, over which we have paused so long. And we shall be transported into a fairy scene, into courts paved with white marble, and surrounded with delicate pillars, and walls ornamented with gilded arabesques and mosaic of a colour of untold brilliancy. In the apartments of the palace themselves water is thrown by fountains into the air, or spread in smooth sheets in cups of alabaster bordered with flowers. Even in the gardens, the murmur of the trees, the dashing of the cascades, the trickle of artificial rivulets makes sighing music to the ear; but in the Saloon of Music in the Palace, which is devoted to nightly



concerts, the court has assembled for its nightly recreation, and the music of lutes, violins, guitars, and voices begins to sound, amid all the delights of sense. Four great tribunes, filled with performers, are ranged at the sides of the saloon, and answer one another in that peculiar style of song, that we have spoken of before;<sup>1</sup> the king and his favourites and attendant courtiers are seated on carpets and divans in the centre, round an alabaster basin, from which a fountain plays; while through marble slabs, pierced with a variety of apertures, the perfume of odours arises, that are burning in vaults beneath.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, then, and in such scenes as this, may we leave the Moorish Music, nor need we pursue it in its decline, which was soon to come. For by this time its work was done, and its influence, though divested of its magnificence, had ere this been disseminated through Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> Though we are left without actual information on this subject, it seems the object of the tribunes can have been no other than to admit of antiphonal performance.

<sup>2</sup> Power's History of the Mussulmans in Spain.



## CHAPTER IV

For long before the days of Granada, indeed, a pale reflection of its beauty had arisen in France. For it was at the beginning of the 12th century, that the Counts of Barcelona, to whom the greater part of Catalonia belonged, obtained by marriage the Crown of Provence, and their immense dominions embraced the whole of the sea-board of the Mediterranean, and far into the interior, from Tarragona to Marseilles.<sup>1</sup> There was thus easy access opened between Provence and Spain, which even before now had not been slight,<sup>2</sup> and the traditions of Arabian music, that had penetrated to France before, were now enabled to pour in a wide and steady volume through the gate of Catalonia.<sup>3</sup>

And we shall admire how the Provençal singers resembled the Arabian, not only in sentiments and character, but also in the very forms of their minstrelsy. As the Arabians had their dual verses, so had the Provençals their *Coblas*, or "Couplets," in like manner. As the duality of the verse had led to those amicable "Contentions," or poetic duels, of which we have spoken among the Arabian singers, so

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<sup>1</sup> Diago. *Historia de los victoriosissimos Condes de Barcelona*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> "The Catalonian melodies were heard with pleasure at Granada, and the Moorish melodies were no less favourites with the Catalans, not only when sung by professional minstrels and jongleurs, but even by rough sailors at the ports." *Historia Arabe extractada por Casiri*.

had the Provençals their "*Tensos*," or "Contentions," in which similarly two minstrels bore a part. And that adornment of Poetry, Rhyme, which we have seen the Arabians develop, flowered into roses among the Provençals, and in Provence was first heard in any other tongue but the Arabic.<sup>1</sup> No less the manner of using the rhymes. For as the Arabians had their "*Casidas*," or long poems all on one rhyme, and their short bespangled and dainty *Maouchahs*, or "embroideries," so also had the Provençals two well defined orders of poetry, the first, long poems on one rhyme, which, with equal wealth of melody, they could sometimes extend to a hundred lines—so fertile and luxuriant was the rhyming music of their language;<sup>2</sup> the second, short lyrical poems with such dainty jinglings and artful ambushings, that might compare with the best Arabian embroidery:—

U — U  
Erransa,

U — U  
Pezansa,

U — U — U — U  
Me destrenh e m balansa,

U — U — U — U  
Res no sai on me lansa

U — U  
Esmansa

U — U  
Semblansa

U — U — U — U  
Me tolh ir 'e m' enansa

<sup>1</sup> Andres. Dell' origine e stato attuale d'ogni letteratura I. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Fauriel. Histoire de la Poésie Provençale. III. 253.

∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪  
 Un messatgier, qui me venc l'autre dia,  
 ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —  
 Tot en vellan, mon vrai cor emblar;  
 ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —  
 Et anc pueisas no fuy ses gelozia,  
 ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —    ∪    —  
 E res no sai vas on lo m'an sercar.<sup>1</sup>

Nay, even the names they gave their songs are the same as the Arabian names,<sup>2</sup> being but the Arabian names translated. For they had their "Evening Song," which they called "Serenade," or "*Serena*," their "Morning Song" they called the "*Alba*," their Complaints, "*Planhs*," and their Romances, or long narratives of prose and verse intermixed, which were but the common Arabian tales, that were chanted by the raouis to the accompaniment of the Marabba, or poet's violin.<sup>3</sup> But the forms of their "Ballads" they borrowed from the "Ballad" dances of Catalonia, and their Roundes from the Roundelays of general Europe, and their Dances from the same common source, and their Pastourelles, or Pastoral dialogues, from the Serranos, or Shepherd dances, of Castile, and the Villanios, which were but much the same in Leon.<sup>4</sup> So that they drew indeed from other elements for their store, but most of all, and far beyond all, from the Arabians. And the Provençal minstrels were called in their own language "inventors," or "makers,"

<sup>1</sup> Guillaume de Beziers.

<sup>2</sup> The relationship is well drawn out in Fauriel's *Histoire de la Poésie Provençale*. III. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Fauriel. III. 334.

<sup>4</sup> This infusion of Spanish elements cannot be directly proved, but only inferred from the similarity of forms.

of songs. And "to invent" in Provençal was "*trobar*," and "an inventor" was a "*Troubadour*."

And since the Provençal minstrels, or Troubadours, differed from all other minstrels whom we have yet considered, it will behove us to pause on their character and history a little, if only to see these points of difference. For while all other minstrels that we have yet met, have been poor and despised, or wanderers over the face of the earth, like the jongleurs were, the Troubadours were courtly gentlemen, who pursued the art of music for the love they bore it; and while all were cavaliers of the first degree of knighthood,<sup>1</sup> they could reckon among their numbers four kings, many princes of royal blood, and of counts and dukes very many.<sup>2</sup> And because the practice of music was often esteemed an ignoble pursuit, and only the composition of it fit for the etiquette of their rank, they would keep jongleurs in their service as inferior esquires,<sup>3</sup> in the manner of the Spanish cavaliers, and would instruct the jongleurs to sing their music at the courts of their friends, or under the windows of their lady-love. But yet we must not think of them as retired and studious composers, but as something very different. For at the first breath of spring, the Troubadour, who had passed the winter in his castle, varying the exercise of arms with the composition of music, mounted on

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<sup>1</sup> As we may know from the common passages in the Chronicles, where "Troubadour" and "Cavalier" are treated as synonyms, "Peirols no se poc mantener per Cavallier, e venc Joglars." "E 'l senher de Marveis si 'l fes Cavallier...no poc mantener cavalaria, si se fes Jotglar," &c.

<sup>2</sup> According to Millot. *Les vies des plus célèbres*, &c.

<sup>3</sup> To quote the words of the chroniclers, the Troubadour, "anava per cortz, e menava dos chantadors, que chantavon las soas chansos."



his steed, and, attended by his jongleurs, sallied out in quest of listeners and prepared to indulge in what adventures might befall him on the way. As the knight-errants of chivalry, so these chevaliers of music, commending themselves to fortune and their lady, gave the reins to their steed, and let it carry them where it chose, abandoning themselves to delightful contemplation, while their jongleurs, on foot in the rear, tuning up their instruments, sang out their master's songs, that echoed through the meadows and woods as they passed along. And in no long time they would reach a castle, where the news of their coming had already been announced by a jongleur despatched for the purpose in front. And when they arrived at the castle gate, the Troubadour dismounted, and was soon the centre of a courtly throng assembled to receive him, who helped him to divest himself of his armour, (for being a knight bachelor he always rode in knightly panoply, and arrayed him in a costly mantle,) as was usual in the hospitality of the time;<sup>1</sup> while the jongleurs, ranging themselves in a row before the company, began the preface to their concert, which was often couched in the most fantastic terms. "We come," they sang, "bringing a precious balsam which cures all sorts of ills, and heals the troubles both of body and mind. It is contained in a vase of gold, adorned with jewels the most rare. Even to see it is wonderful pleasure, as you will find if you care to try. The balsam is the music of our master, the vase of gold is our courtly company. Would you have the vase

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<sup>1</sup> The above is agreeable to the usual descriptions given by the Troubadours themselves. "Allar par le monde," "Aller par les cours," were the usual phrases applied to these expeditions.

open, and disclose its ineffable treasure?"<sup>1</sup> And so they prattled on in most harmonious music, twanging their instruments and piping the while, for this was the prelude to a long list of songs, that might take days for their apt delivery.<sup>2</sup> For not all their songs were sung in the courtyard at their entry, but only a chosen few, and those the most appropriate. And after this, royal cheer in the banqueting hall, and the jongleurs sitting below the salt would ever and anon break out in some harmonious strain at a signal from their master, most *apropos* and pleasant for the occasion.<sup>3</sup> And next morning, music on the ramparts overlooking the moat, where the ladies were wont to walk and talk in the early part of the day with the knights and squires. Or in the meadows outside the castle, and this more often in the afternoon, where a gallant company of knights and ladies from the surrounding district were assembled, and carpets of brocade were spread on the grass, and they sat in groups up and down the meadow, while the jongleurs moved about, singing as before.<sup>4</sup> Here it was, and on such distinguished occasions, that the Troubadour himself perhaps would sing—a rare privilege, which he was chary of according. And taking his guitar from the hands of an attendant jongleur, he would strike the strings and commence his excellent refrain, and very soon all that courtly company had gathered round the spot where he was singing, for such

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<sup>1</sup> Such is the preface in Fauriel. III. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> Sitting below the salt, or standing in front of the table. "Vor dem Tische stant," runs the old traveller's narrative in Scheid. p. 18., in allusion to the jongleurs.

<sup>4</sup> This picture is common in medieval romance.

singing was no common privilege to hear.<sup>1</sup> Now in every castle there was a large book kept, and the seigneur of the castle had a scrivener on purpose to copy in it whatever song greatly pleased him. And wherever the Troubadour and his jongleurs went, they always left many such songs behind.<sup>2</sup> And such and of such kind were the visits that the Troubadours made to the castles in Provence.

And so it continued all the summer time, and when the winter came, Amanieu de Escas, the Troubadour, shall tell us how they employed their time then. "When hail and frost cover the earth, and cause man and beast to shelter themselves from the cold, I am sitting in the house with my pages, singing of love, of joy, and of arms. The warm fire burns bright, and the floors are well covered with mats. White wines and red are on the table."<sup>3</sup> And every day a new song written, and the jongleurs rehearsing it under their master's guidance,<sup>4</sup> against bespangled spring when the round of pleasures begins again. But with the Troubadours, all is spring and summer, nor do I know any passage but the present one where winter and its occupations intrudes itself into their thoughts. But all is sunshine, and their month is May. And Music is to them the "Gay

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<sup>1</sup> In opposition to the singular statement of recent writers, that the Troubadours were composers only, the following passages may be quoted: "Pons de Capdeuil sabia ben trobar e ben viular e ben cantar." (MS. Biblioth. Nationale.) "Peire Vidal cantava meilz c' ome del mon." (Ib.) An exception to this universal rule is thought worth while chronicling in the case of Hugues Brunet, "qui trobet cansos bonas, mas non fetz sons." (Bibliothèque Nationale. MS. Fonds Latins. 7881.)

<sup>2</sup> Fauriel. Histoire de la Poésie Prov. III. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Amanieu de Escas in Reynouard's Reculée.

<sup>4</sup> This point is noticed by Fauriel. III. 233.

Science,"<sup>1</sup> and they styled one another in jest the "Doctors of the Gay Science." And we could tell of contests that they had together, in which the prize was a golden violet,<sup>2</sup> and of their efforts so untiring to outvie each other in the composition of beautiful music; for in the cultivation of music and in the pursuit of arms was their life entirely passed. But most of all with music, for by music no less than by arms might they aspire to reach that end, which was proposed as the prize of all chivalry. For what to them were the twangings of lutes and apt arrangements of melodies and songs, or why should they wander from place to place, like knightly errants as they were, and pass their time in pilgrimages of poetry and song, but to win their lady's favours? For as the errant knights themselves, whom chivalrous romance informs us of, roamed the world in quest of adventures, engaging in perilous enterprises, or stationing themselves at passes in forests, or at bridges, and compelling all those that went by to acknowledge the superiority of their lady-love, so the Troubadours journeyed from castle to castle and from court to court, singing of the lady, whose beauty attracts all eyes, her skin white as the driven snow, her complexion like the rosebud in spring, and wreaths of flowers wound round her long flaxen hair, which shines like gold.<sup>3</sup> As it was imperative for every knight-errant to have a lady-love, so was it equally incumbent on the Troubadour.<sup>4</sup> She was the subject of his

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<sup>1</sup> The "Gai Saber" or "Gaya Ciencia."

<sup>2</sup> As the *Sobregaya Companhia dels Sept Trobadors de Tolosa*.—Though this is late, yet it was the imitation of an earlier custom.

<sup>3</sup> The common heroine of the Troubadours' poems.

<sup>4</sup> Some of these connections have become more celebrated than others, yet in no case were they or could they in the nature of things be absent. *Infra*. p.—

Serenades, his Planhs, of all his music.<sup>1</sup> Her influence he invoked when he commenced to sing, and to spread her name throughout the land was the purpose of his many pilgrimages. "To my lady-love," sings Bernard De Ventadour, "I owe my valour and my spirit. I owe to her my sweet gaiety and engaging manners; for had I never seen her, I should have never loved, and never have desired to please." "To my lady," sings Guillaume de Saint Didier, "I consecrate all my songs. She is the model of all perfection. Her lands, her castle, her very name, her discourse, her actions, her manners, all offer new beauties for contemplation. Oh! that some traces of her loveliness might infuse themselves in my verses. For I tell you, that if my songs were worthy of the lady they celebrate they would surpass the songs of all other troubadours, as her beauty surpasses that of every lady in the world." "Ah! my tender dear, when the sweet Zephyr fans that happy place where thou dwellest, it seems to me that I breathe a perfume of Paradise." Even in their martial exercises, which they shared with other gentlemen of their time, they did not forget her; and let us hear how sweetly one could make music of the battle to please his fair enthraller. "Many a champing steed shall I see," it is Bernard de Montcuc who is singing, "at Tarzane near Balaguiet, the chargers of the king who boasts his invincible might. And his squadrons and his troops will be there, and legions of serried warriors will come riding on me then. Yet shall I have no fear. But what fear

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<sup>1</sup> Of the various styles of composition among the Troubadours, all but one (*Infra*. p.—) being on amatory themes, and containing, either in the body of the poem or in the *Envoi*, an address to their mistress.



should I have if my lady were unkind, whose beautiful charms I long to possess!

"The barbed steed, the hauberk, the polished lance, and good sword of steel, and war in procinct, I prize more than brave attire, and the weak delights of peace, But more than all do I prize my lady, for never such a lady shall I find again.

"Well am I pleased with the archers near the barbican, when the engines begin to play, and the wall staggers beneath their stroke, and swarming from the trees the army grows and deploys itself. But never had general such joy in his gallant troops as I have in my lady-love, when I think of the joys I have shared with her, and the delights greater far than glory."

Many a story is told of their devotion to their mistress. Richard de Barbesieu, the Troubadour, had for his mistress the wife of Geoffroi de Touai, whose excellence he had proclaimed through all the courts of Provence. But she at last disdaining him, he retired to the woods and built himself a cabin of leaves, resolved never to show his face to man, till he was restored to her favour. And after two years spent thus, the lady said that if one hundred knights and ladies, who were truly in love, would come with their hands joined, and ask her on their knees to receive his love again, she would consent to do so. And this was done, and Barbesieu released from solitude.<sup>1</sup> Jaufred Rudel was the Troubadour Errant. Most fantastic were his adventures, but, more than all, his passion for the Countess of Tripoli, whom he had never seen, for she lived in Palestine, and he had become enamoured from report of her. He put on

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<sup>1</sup> La Curne de St. Palaye. *Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours.*

the dress and habit of a pilgrim, and embarked on a ship at Marseilles for the Holy Land. But on his way he fell grievously sick for love of her, and arrived at Tripoli but to die. And the Countess, having heard of the sick pilgrim at the port, came to see him, and he took her hand, and spoke as follows: "Most illustrious princess, I will not complain of death, for now I have seen you, and have achieved the sole object of my desire." She had him interred in a tomb of porphyry, and Arabic verses written over him.<sup>1</sup> And this was the song that the Troubadours made on him in Provence: "Geoffrey Rudel, going over the seas to see his lady, died a voluntary death for her."<sup>2</sup> Pons de Capdeuil, the Troubadour of Puy, was enamoured of Azalais, the lady of the Baron of Mercœur. Many were the feasts he made for her, to which all the nobility of Provence resorted in crowds. Tournaments took place on these occasions for Azalais as the Queen of the Tourney, and hosts of jongleurs were there, to celebrate her and her lover in music and song. But woe for him! she died, and Pons de Capdeuil, breathing out his despair in a tender complaint, threw away his lute for ever, and passed over the seas in the hosts of the Crusaders, and found in a glorious death the end of his grief.<sup>3</sup> Many Troubadours vowed to sing nothing but Planhs, or Complaints, thenceforward, when their mistress died.<sup>4</sup> While others buried themselves in the cloisters, and gave their lands and possessions to the fraternity they had joined.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nostradamus. *Les vies des plus célèbres Troubadours*. Lyon. 1575.

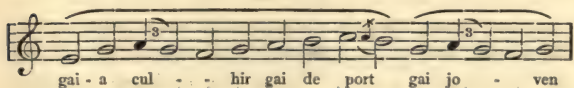
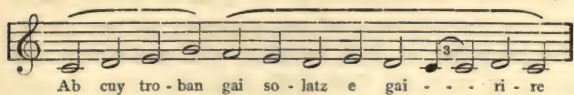
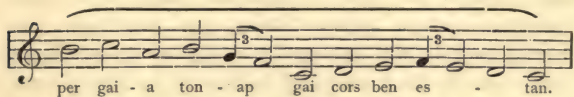
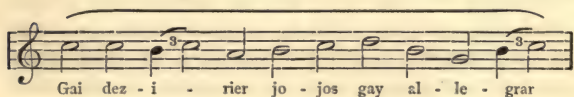
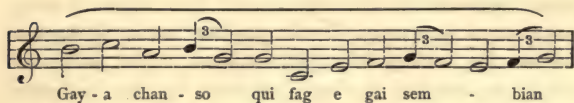
<sup>2</sup> Crescimbeni. *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *La Curie de St. Palaye. Histoire.*

<sup>4</sup> As William de la Tour, and others.

<sup>5</sup> As Fulke of Marseilles. Others might be mentioned.

And let us hear some of their songs, about which we have spoken so much. And taking one of Pons de Capdeuil's, written in his halcyon days, which many a time was sung by his jongleurs at the feet of Azalais, let us consider its character and its Form, that so we may judge how far those accounts were true which we gave of the parentage of this Music, and of the source from whence it was derived. For we have derived it partly from the Arabian music, and partly from the chivalrous music of Spain, and let us see how it bears the impression of its origin.



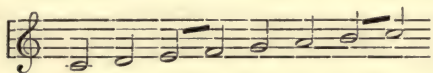
gai - a ben talz gai chan - tar gai al - bi - re.....

Gai ditz pla - sen..... gai joi gai pretz gai..... sen

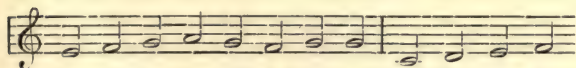
Jen.... soi gais, car soi siens fi - na - men.

And first, we shall see the Arabian influence in the waywardness and weakness of the rhythm, for the Chant Music of Arabia was conspicuous for this, and quite opposed to that crisp and firm style of song, which had grown up in the popular music of Europe under the influence of the dances. And next we shall see another Arabian influence, in the perpetual contrasting of line and line, or phrase and phrase, which had stamped itself on Arabian music by virtue of the antithesis of the two members, of which every verse was composed, and now appears in the lines and phrases of this Troubadour song, a phrase mounting and a phrase falling, the first high, the second low, in the manner in which we know it to have been in the halves and halves of Arabian poetry. And next the influence of the Spanish ballad music is very perspicuous in the measure of the poetry. For each bar, as it is marked here, encloses a line of verse, and we shall find that the verse is the same Ballad measure that we have heard but just now in Spain, though treated with such freedom in the music, and it has become the foundation of all the Troubadour poetry. Here the ordinary four-foot

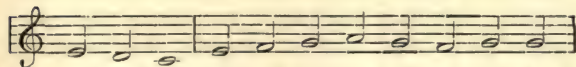
rhythm is increased to five-foot by the addition of an iambus, and this is often done, yet without prejudice, it is easily seen, to the fundamental form, which shines through their entire poetry as the regular framework of their measures. But the Rhyme is plainly Arabian, whether we count it as coming through the Spanish ballads, or as borrowed direct; and also something else, which is of greater importance for us to take notice of. For having said that the Arabian Scale was constructed in Tetrachords, all of the Third, or Last Stage of development, we find this song to be constructed on a scale of similar Tetrachords, and considering its notes we shall find them to lie exactly in the series of the Modern Major Scale:—



Still more plain will be the discovery in the following Song, in which we may notice the jongleur influence, if we may call it so, that is, a crispness and rotundity of rhythm, which comes from the popular music. It is a Pastourelle, a style of song in which the Troubadours commonly drew largely from the popular forms. It is by the Troubadour Thibaut, Count of Champagne.



L'au - trier par la ma - ti - né - e En - tre un bos et



un ver - gier Un - e pas - tore ai trou - vé - e

Q Q



Chan - tant pour soi en - voi - sier Et di - soit un

son pre - mier "Chi me tient li mans..... d'a - mor,"

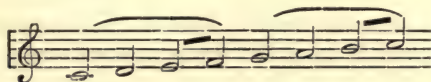
Tan-tost ce - le par m'en-tor..... Ke je l'or.....

de frai - ni - er Si li dis sans de - lai - er,

Bel - le, Diex vous doint..... bon..... jour.

Here, as I say, more perspicuously than in the former, we may notice the features of our own modern scale. For the sharpness of the Rhythm brings it into relief, and enables us to see its relationship to the Arabian scale, and also its diversity. For it resembles it in being composed of the most highly developed form of Tetrachords, but it differs from it in having its Tetrachords disjunct. And we may well admire how this difference has arisen. Nor must we seek the cause in any vague generalising on the greater clearness in musical perception among the Europeans than the Arabians, saying that as their rhythms were more plastic, so was their idea of melody more distinct, and they delighted in playing tetrachord against tetrachord, and so reaping the benefit of that contrast, which is the fountain of all variety and

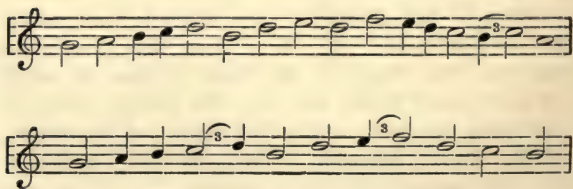
the sure securer of symmetry, and cannot obtain, when the tetrachords are conjunct, as in the Arabian system—but this, I say, is vague and unsatisfying. And we shall more conveniently find the cause in the constant habituation of the European ear to disjunct tetrachords, long before the Arabian scale had been heard of. For the tetrachords in the scale of Hucbald, which had been its immediate predecessor, were all disjunct, and no less were they so in the Church Modes, which were founded on the Greek System, in which this disjunction of Tetrachords obtained as the normal form. So that it was most natural that the Arabian Scale, coming through Spain into Europe, should shape itself agreeably to the traditional patterns so long in use there; and contributing its own individuality of the Third Stage Tetrachords, and submitting these to the conditions that were traditional in its new home, it produced that scale, which we have already written before, and may here repeat,

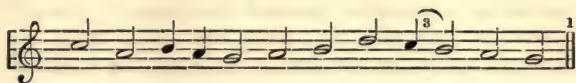


In this way we have at last reached the goal of that history of scale development, which has already occupied us so long; and how it has been achieved, we have seen. And the importance of Hucbald's position in the growth of the Modern Scale cannot be over-estimated. For he it was who first broke free from the fetters of the Greek System, to which all the Church Modes were even yet entirely amenable, and created a scale which had regard to the singing of his time. Similarly it may be said of Guido, that his innovations were a decided advance towards

the Modern Scale. And these men we have singled out from the crowd of others, whose teachings bore no fruit of newness, but were merely repetitions of doctrines and forms, that in the time of the Greeks we have amply discussed. For all the while that the popular music was progressing step by step to that form which we use to-day, the music of the church had remained stationary and the same. And while the Troubadours and jongleurs were expressing their melodies in the one common scale that served for all, entering the churches and monasteries we should still have heard the Eight Tones of Gregory, and all the music framed therein. So that we must conceive a separation in the music of the world at this time, and two distinct styles in existence, the old and the new, which hereafter we shall see in conflict, and struggling for the mastery.

Now not all the Troubadours' songs are such admirable illustrations of the Modern scale as those we have given, but only some of them. Many do but speak it out faintly and vaguely, and many are entirely couched in the scale of the Arabians. As the following song, for instance, where the stoppage of the melody at the flat seventh, at once speaks of conjunct tetrachords, which necessitate a flat seventh, if they are both to be of the same, that is, the third form of development:—





But we may admire that we never find those mincings and chips of intervals, in which the Arabians so much delighted, but all the music expressed in the plain diatonic style. And we must say that the subdivision of intervals can never have been pleasing to European ears, and that this was an element which was deliberately rejected. But more obvious and easy borrowings, all were there—the sentimental spirit of the music, the formulation of it into patterns on the model of the poetry, into Ballads, Serenades, Chansons, of such a length and such a texture, because the poetical model must have it so, and generally the preference for short, fugitive, and airy forms—all these were in keeping with the essence of the Arabian Music. And while all these forms and the others we have mentioned passed into currency in Europe afterwards, to be of high importance on the development of the art, one form in particular was destined to play so remarkable a part in future music, that we must at some little length consider it, though it delay us on our course to do so. For having said that the main form of Arabian poetry was when two singers answered one another, each declaiming his half verse, and so a dialogue was kept up, and on its interchange of melodies did the interest of the music consist, we must say that the “Contention,” for so we have called it before, received a most remarkable treatment at the hands of Troubadours, and was by them nourished into a mighty form,

<sup>1</sup> Reynouard. II. IV.

destined for centuries to overarch the Music of Europe.

And first we may ask, what form more likely to take precedence of all others than such a form as this? For wandering about the land, each vaunting at every castle he came to the merits of his lady love, it was natural that as the knight errants often came to blows to decide the superiority of their fair one, so too the Troubadours should often find themselves antagonists in a similar quarrel, as when Aimeri de Peguilan supported the beauty of the Dame de Bonville, but Gaucelm Faidit maintained that Mary de Ventadour was the fairest; or Pierre d' Auvergne sang of the peerless maid, Clarette, but Guionet would allow that none could equal the lovely Emilie. And Courts of Love were established in various parts of Provence, in which these dainty issues might be decided, not by blows and bloodshed, but by the gentler weapons which the Troubadours employed, that is, by songs and guitars and ready wit and music.<sup>1</sup> And the judges of these Courts were the ladies of the neighbourhood, who would meet together, sometimes 60 in number, for the purpose of trying the cause.<sup>2</sup> And they would sit round raised tables, placed on a dais in the hall; and in the lists below them the gentle tourney began. And the two Troubadours stood with their guitars in their hand, bedizened too in silks and satins, as was meet for the fair company that was to hear them, and each maintained the beauty of his mistress. And it was Question and Reply, and line for line they sang, in all respects the same as in the style of the Arabian "Contention."

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<sup>1</sup> André. *Livre de l' Art d' aimer*. Since his time, Reynouard (Reculée des &c.) has investigated the subject, and confirmed most of his statements. See also De Sade. *Vie de Petrarque*. II. Note. 19.

<sup>2</sup> André. *Livre de l' Art d' aimer*.



And this tourney of wit and music was called the "Tenso," which, as we have said before, had that meaning. And thus would they continue, extemporising words and melodies, line for line or phrase for phrase about.<sup>1</sup> And here, I say, was a great musical form being dallied with, which ere long we shall see domineer and enslave the entire music of Europe. For what is that Form of Music which has lasted till to-day, but which then in Europe had no existence, where phrase answers phrase in Question and Reply, and the whole texture of which is but this agreeable altercation from first to last? Is it not the Fugue? which seen now in its later complexity, which the science of centuries has set upon it, may hardly be recognised in so simple an original, but yet without doubt it is the same; and we need but imagine living interlocutors in its play of musical dialogue, to see from what primitive form it has sprung. And now, before it passed to the science of the cloisters, it was flowering in freedom amid the gardens of Provence, having been wafted to these pleasant surroundings from the minstrels of Arabian Spain, who kept up that Contention of Question and Answer, which they had Derived from the earlier minstrels of Arabia itself, who in their turn were but giving utterance to that deep-seated formula of all Semitic poetry, that Question and Reply that the ancient Hebrews had been the first to expound, which we have before designed as Parallelism.

Thus unconsciously were the Troubadours elaborating a great musical Form. And quite as unwittingly were they developing a great component of the musical art, which, up till the impulse it received

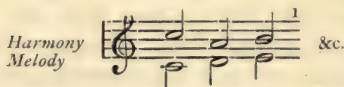
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<sup>1</sup> Reynouard. Art. Tenso.

from them, had for centuries remained in a state of stagnation. For Harmony since the time of Hucbald had scarcely moved forward in the path of progress, having no new conditions brought to bear on it which might develop novelty, and no impulse to improvement, since it entirely satisfied the requirements of those who used it. It was the nursling of the churches and the cloisters, and but for a few changes, with one exception, of little moment, had remained from then till now in the state of infancy. The first change that had taken place in the ancient system was the introduction of a licence, or rather an ornament, into the series of consecutive 4ths, 5ths, and 8ves, which made it up, whereby some slight relief from the monotony was gained, by employing an invariable 8ve to open the piece, so that, while the old form of Hucbald's harmony ran,



by virtue of this new ornament, the opening became

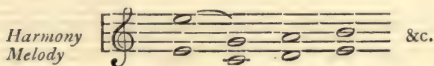


And from this principle another had easily flowed. For if the melody fell at its second note, instead of rising, as here it does, the 8ve at the commencement

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<sup>1</sup> As may be judged from the regulations of the handbooks, which make this progression their primary rule. Though any handbook would have served the turn, the rules have been taken here from the Treatise MS. 813. (Fonds St. Victor. Bibliothèque Nationale.), because it has been most recently published by Coussemaker.

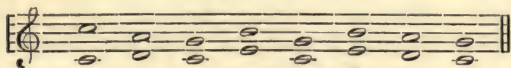
would necessitate too great a leap for the voice on to the succeeding note, and in place therefore of



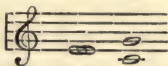
the 8ve was placed at the second note of the piece, instead of the first, with the following result,



Such was the simple innovation which the singers of the churches ventured to make in the hard and fast severity of Hucbald's method—one 8ve amid a crowd of 5ths, and with this solitary grace the harmony was conceived to be “mitigated and mollified.”<sup>2</sup> Yet one change was not long in leading to another. For the ear, accustomed to the pleasant variety of the opening, soon came to require an infusion of the same in the song itself, nor was it long before the device of the commencement was repeated throughout the piece, and what had been originally written,



<sup>1</sup> Auct. cit. In Guy de Chalis,

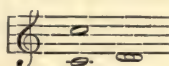


appears as

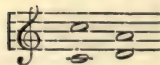
an optional form for



and



or



<sup>2</sup> Ib.

was now, with an agreeable alternation of fifths and octaves, written and sung as follows :—



And this is the important change we spoke of a moment ago. For though Church Harmony lingered in such a phase as this, without taking the next step in its progress, yet a great principle had been already inaugurated, and was faithfully acted on, that to procure pleasant variety of concord the parts must proceed in contrary motion.<sup>2</sup> This principle, flowing easily as it does from the device of the 8ve commencement, which necessitated contrary movement of the parts on the second note of the piece, had come to be commonly used in the church style, but no further than this had the church style dared to soar. 8ves, 4ths, and 5ths, though now intermixed as we see, formed the sole constituents of the harmony; and this was the condition of Harmony, when the Troubadours had begun their singing in Provence.

And committing their songs to the performance of jongleurs, which by preference they did, only on rare occasions deigning to appear as performers themselves, they were committing them to men little disposed to bind themselves to any severity of principle, to men who were familiar in a popular sense with the music of the churches and monasteries, and, above all, to jongleurs, who, for the first time in jongleur history,

<sup>1</sup> Written in the MS. quoted :

C	a	c	b	c	e	a	c
C	D	C	E	C	E	D	C

<sup>2</sup> That the principle is laid down in so many words cannot be exactly said; but the examples in the handbooks all proceed as if it were.

sang in companies together. For up till the time of the Troubadours, the jongleur roamed alone, but now, collected in bands and parties, they passed their time in castle-yards and halls, singing their masters' songs. For the jongleurs harmonised the songs, as they sang them, in their own wilful way, extemporising harmonies and surprising combinations of voices with the same ready wit they had always displayed, and the melody which the Troubadour wrote was performed by his jongleurs, with such variations as their fancy or waywardness suggested. This method of extemporising harmonies was known as *Descant*,<sup>1</sup> and the immediate result of it may be easily surmised. For at once, and without any laborious development to lead to the result, it broke through all the fetters of the church style, and laid open the whole field of musical combination to the harmonist. For no man extemporising harmonies can show himself so skilful an adept, as always to keep his invention in accord with rule; for the melody may take a turn he was little prepared for, and by mishap, or by caprice, some other interval than the regular one will intrude itself. And such mishaps and such caprices were the constant concomitants of jongleur singing, as we may see by considering the manner in which it was performed: The main body of singers declaimed the melody, and one improvised his descant above it. Next another would try his hand, it might be on the same melody, it might be on another; but in either case emulation was equally present, and jongleur

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<sup>1</sup> The attempt of some to divert *Descant* from its meaning of "extempore harmony" to the signification of "Harmony" in general, has no ground to stand upon but assumption alone.



after jongleur would do his best to outshine his comrades in cleverness of combination and novelty of effects. Let us then think what scope was given for licence to assert itself, and wilful harmonising such as system never dreamed of.

And now to the jongleur, whose ear was his only guide, 3rds and 6ths<sup>1</sup> would sound as pleasant as 8ves, 5ths, and 4ths. Even discords would be welcomed as an agreeable means of variety,<sup>2</sup> more especially when to the descanter the desire came of making his descant as good a melody as the song itself—which in due time took place. The device of harmony, which we call “Passing Notes,” appeared as another result of this,<sup>3</sup> and with the exception of the simple principle, which their own good ear led them to, that every discord should be succeeded by a concord,<sup>4</sup> nothing in the range of musical combination was safe from the extravagancies of the jongleurs. In such forms as this, then, would they descant, and we may see how free and flexible is the harmony:—

<sup>1</sup> Faux-Bourdon had already habituated the ear to these intervals. It is to be regretted that this method of progression cannot be alluded to here.

<sup>2</sup> In the oldest examples of Descant known, quoted in Coussemaker. Beilagen., are to be found the intervals of the 8ve, 5th and 4th—the 3rd occasionally, and the 6th occasionally. In later ones, as “*Lonc le rieu*,” the discords of the 2nd and 7th are employed, but on condition of resolving them by contrary motion on concords.

<sup>3</sup> In “*Discantus Vulgaris Positio*,” in the Treatise of Jerome of Moravia, we first have the progression permitted of two notes of the Descant to one of the Melody, either of which, the first or the second, may be a discord.

<sup>4</sup> If we may call it a principle which was merely a habit unconsciously followed by these extempore singers, and not even in the earlier handbooks recognised as a canon of harmony.

DESCANT.

MELODY.

Of this Descant, then, as we have given it here, had the Troubadours been the unconscious founders. But as it advanced in its development, they were drawn into closer connection, and even compelled to appear as its main exponents. For those merry spirits, into whose hands the art of harmony had thus so strangely fallen, were little disposed to pause at the point they had now arrived at. For from one extempore descanter they soon passed to two. Two jongleurs, each prepared to illustrate his originality of invention and musical combination, and each extemporising on his own account, became in no long time the usual addition to the song. The highest of the two

<sup>1</sup> MS. Bibliothèque Nationale. 7451.

descants, which was the new one, since thus it seems that harmony grows, was called the *Treble*, that is, the *Triple*, or Third, part; and with two extempore singers, neither knowing from note to note what interval his fellow might take, most rare was the confusion which sometimes resulted. To check the licences, then, and to amend the errors, the Troubadours found themselves compelled to arrange the parts beforehand, and the descant, which in two-part harmony was merely governed by the whims of the jongleurs, must now in three-part be carefully written down and rehearsed before performance. The Troubadours made use of the same free intervals and the same bold combinations, which the jongleurs in their extempore singing employed.<sup>1</sup> And we have many beautiful examples of Descant written by the Troubadours for the Jongleurs in three parts, of which we may well quote the following as instances—<sup>2</sup>

Treble.

Counter Tenor. 1.

MELODY or Tenor. 2. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Harmony, with its accompanying demands on the labour of the composer, was no great favourite with the earlier Troubadours. Rather to the later Trouvères, or Troubadours of Northern France and Belgium, did it owe its progress.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Bibliothèque Nationale. 5397.



in which we may notice that the discord of the second at 1 is resolved regularly by contrary motion, but at 2 it is not so resolved, though the resolution is but suspended, and takes place at 3. Let us also observe the passing notes at 4; and other points of harmony throughout the song will be suggested by these.

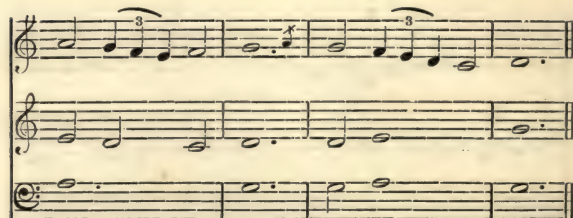
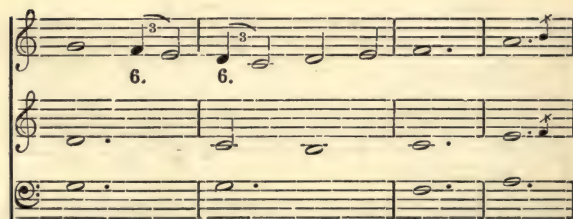
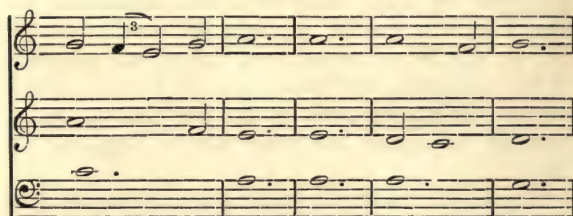
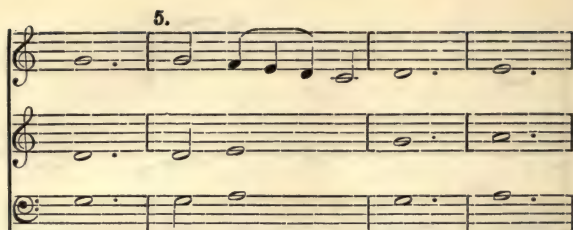
Here is a Round, no less aptly harmonised than the preceding:—

Treble. 1. 2.

Counter Tenor.

MELODY or Tenor.

3. 4.





And the discords at 1 and 6, and the passing notes at 2, 3, 4, 5, will strike us, and also the apt alternation of harmonious intervals, so as to procure the most pleasing change and variety. In this way, from pure wit and delicate ear was the art of Harmony being slowly forged. And meanwhile all the lighter forms of our modern music were flowering fast, some to attain a high maturity later, and some to as quickly vanish and fade away. Ballads, Chansons, Rounds, or Rondos, Serenades, Nocturnes—all these with many more as Sonnets, Coblas, Planhs, Tensos, and Sirventes, must be credited for their origination to the Troubadours. And some, as I say, have passed away, but others still remain, with the benefit of that complicate development, which centuries have brought about. And all alike were in their infancy now, and but the simple utterance of poetical sentiment, deriving their name and their nature from the uneventful particular which originated them. If they were composed to the measure of a dance, (*Baile*), they were called Ballads, and to the measure of the Round Dance, Rounds; if they were phrased with fancies that sorted with the Evening (*Sera*), then they were Serenades, with the late night, Nocturnes. And all these we have described, with the exception of the Sirventes, which yet remain to be considered. They differed from the rest, not in their musical texture, but in the subject that called them forth. For while the theme of the other songs was amorous, the Sirventes were the songs of war.<sup>1</sup> Real war, indeed, no less than those pleasant mimicries of fight which the Courts of Love could witness, played its

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<sup>1</sup> Also of Satire and Humour, in which, though by comparison sparingly, the Troubadours sometimes indulged.

part in the lives of the Troubadours; and with their Sirventes they sent challenges to knightly adversaries, or wrote in Sirventes that music of the tourneys which was fitted with wild accompaniments of many instruments, as befitted the occasion.<sup>1</sup> They stationed their jongleurs outside the barriers of the lists, while they themselves, mounted on their war-horses, jousted for their lady-love, and in the *mêlée* they could hear their own music on horns and bells pealing out above the roar of crashing blades and the shock of steeds.<sup>2</sup> This was the service their jongleurs did them, playing on horns, bells, and drums, that strange battle-music, or carrying the dead Troubadour from the lists after the *mêlée* was over, when the ground was strewn with glittering pieces of armour, and gold and silver spangles.

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<sup>1</sup> The account is from Justinus Lippiensis, in Lerberke's *Chronicon Comitum Schaw*.

<sup>2</sup> "*Tibia dat varias,*" it runs in the poem above cited, "*per mille foramina voces; Dant quoque terribilem tympana pulsa sonum.*"



## CHAPTER V.

Now these are the names of the Troubadours, who lived and sang in Provence and Languedoc, from the time of William, Count of Poitiers, who was the earliest of them, till the time when they were exterminated by Pope Innocent III. and the Inquisition:—William of Poitiers, who was a type of many of them. He fought in the Second Crusade, and after that devoted his life to gallantry, all his songs being but descriptions of his amours; Bernard de Ventadour, who was a great favourite at the court of Eleanor of Guienne, and afterwards at the court of Raymond V., Count of Toulouse, the great protector of the Troubadours; Richard I. of England, and his friend Bertrand de Born. They would call one another Oc ("Yes") and No, so familiar were they; and the Princess Helena, Richard's sister, was Bertrand's lady-love; Garin d'Apchier; Bernard de Montcuc; Pierre Rogiers, who was the lover of Ermengarde, Viscountess of Narbonne; Pierre Raymond; Guillaume de Balaune; Guillaume de St Didier; Pierre de Barjac; Pierre de la Mula; Alphonso II., King of Arragon; Raymond, de Miravals, who was one of the chief victims of the persecution, that in time began against them; Pons Barba; Giraud de Roux; Guillaume Rainols d'Apt; Guillaume de Durfort; Raymond de Durfort; Bertrand de Marseilles, another victim of the persecution; Rambaud, Prince of Orange; Rambaud de Vaqueiras, a great Crusading Troubadour. Those of his songs

which are not battle pieces, are devoted to the praises of his mistress, "Le Bel Cavalier," a beautiful lady, who could perform all the martial exercises of the time; Bertrand de la Tour; Guillaume de Baux; Guillaume de Figueira; Dendes de Prades; the Dauphin of Auvergne; the Marquis of Malaspina; the Sieur de Barjols; Elas Cairels; Bertrand d' Almamon; Hugues Brunet; Ferrari de Ferrare; Cardenet; Perdigan; Gui de Palasol; Fulke of Romans; Giraud de Borneil; Pierre d' Auvergne. He it was who wrote that beautiful chanson, "Go sweet nightingale, go and tell my fair one, how I love her and desire her love. Learn the news from her, how her heart is bent to me, and fly fast back, and quickly bring me word. The pretty bird flies off, and gaily soars along, until he finds my fair one, until he sees my love;" Giraud de Calanson; Boniface de Castellane; Sordel; Hugues de Mataplana; Gui d' Uisel, he was a canon of Brionde, who disguised his orders, and went about Provence as a Troubadour; Guillaume de St Gregoire; Armanieu des Escas; Richard Barbesieu; Guillaume de la Bergedan; Granet; Guillaume de la Tour; Lanfran Cigala; Simon Doria; Hugues de St. Cyr; Bernard de la Barthe; Hugues de l' Escure; Jean d' Aubusson; the Monk of Montaudon, he was Prior of Montaudon, but being of a noble family in Auvergne he obtained permission of his Abbot to go about the Courts of Provence as a Troubadour; the Monk of Puicibot—he ran away from the cloisters, and took refuge with the Troubadour, Savari de Mauleon, who raised him step by step through the degrees of knighthood, till he became knight-bachelor, and was enabled to adopt the circumstance of a Troubadour; Savari de Mauleon; Durand; Aimeri de Peguilani; Guillaume Magret; Bernard the Troubadour; Arnaud

d' Armagnac ; Sordel de Gaito ; Blacas de Provence ; Marcabres ; Mathieu de Querci ; the Monk of Fossan ; Lanza ; Bernard de Rovenac ; Raymond Jordan ; Aicarts del Fosset ; Aimeri de Beauvoir ; Aimeri de Belmont ; Guillaume Adhemar—he had not the means to support the estate of a Troubadour, and was allowed to become a jongleur. Of Aimeri de Beauvoir, whom we have just mentioned, the same is said ; Frederick, king of Sicily ; Guillaume de Mur ; Arnaud de Marsan ; Guillaume de Montagnogont, a knight of Provence, and a great sufferer in the persecution ; Arnaud de Marveil ; Geoffrey Rudel ; Gavaudan, a leading Troubadour in the Third Crusade. His songs in some parts rise to the enthusiasm of prophecy ; the Bishop of Clermont, a bishop, who was at the same time a Troubadour, but not the only instance of such a union of functions ; Fulke, Bishop of Marseilles ; William Cabestaing—he it was who was killed by the husband of his lady-love, Margherita, and his heart served up to her at a banquet. And she having eaten of it, and being informed whose heart it was, said, "After eating such excellent food, to show how I prize it, I will never eat food again ;" Richard de Naves ; Ogier, a great supporter of the Vicomte de Beziers, who was the champion of the Troubadours against the Inquisitors ; Gaucelm Faudit—he lost his possessions by gambling, and being unable to support any longer the expenses of a Troubadour was allowed to become a jongleur, in which capacity he went on the Third Crusade in the train of King Richard ; Arnaud de Ribeyrac ; Izarn ; Fulke of Lunel, that visionary enthusiast, who took the Virgin Mary for his lady-love, and to her dedicated all his songs ; Arnaud de Comminges, who with all his family was made one of the chief victims in the persecution ;



Pierre Vidal; Pierre Cardinal, who was one of the chief champions of the Troubadours in the persecution, encouraging them by his songs to resist the pretensions of the Inquisitors and of Rome; Guy de Cavaillon, whose castle was stormed during the persecution; Raymond V., Count of Provence; the Count of Foix; Raymond de Beziers; Pierre III., king of Arragon; Bertrand d'Avignon; Arnaud de Marsan; Raimond de Castelnau; Paulet de Marseilles, and others of lesser note. But these were the *coryphées* in those gay doings that we have but lately described. And they each supported their train of jongleurs, and made music and performed pilgrimages in honour of their lady-loves. And of these attachments some have become more renowned than others, as of Bernard de Ventadour for Eleanor of Guienne, afterwards the wife of Henry II. of England; of Pons de Capdeuil for Azalais, which we have mentioned; of Arnaud de Marveil for Adelaide, Countess of Beziers; of Pierre Rogiers for Ermengarde, Viscountess of Narbonne; of Pierre d'Auvergne for Clarette de Baux, who, however, was a Troubadour so popular with the ladies, that he always received the reward of a kiss from those who pleased him best; of Savari de Mauleon for Guilemette de Beuavias, and of Guy de Cavaillon for the Countess of Provence.

Now such was the amorous atmosphere of the time, and so perfectly did these *liaisons* constitute one of the chief, or even the chief object of existence, that the Courts of Love, which we have mentioned before as existing in Provence and Languedoc, grew little by little into institutions of the highest importance. Having been established to settle the disputes of contending Troubadours, who with guitars and songs appeared before them, pleading in *tenso* the excellence

of their lady-loves, they gradually extended their sway, arbitrating on the etiquette of courtship, deciding knotty points in love making, and generally exercising a daily engrossing influence over the entire social life of the time.<sup>1</sup> The ceremonies still remained the same, being conducted with mimic lists and tenso as before, but a spirit of trifling, and also perhaps of looseness, was insinuating itself into the proceedings, which argued ill for the future of such assemblages. To give an instance of at least the former element, and also to show what sort of subjects now formed the theme of debate, let us take the following example :—When more than two Troubadours were concerned in a Tenso, which was sometimes the case, it was called a Tenso-Tourney, and we have an instance of a celebrated Tenso-Tourney between the Troubadours, Savari de Mauleon, the Seigneur of Bergerac, and Geoffrey Rudel, before the Court of the Ladies of Gascony. They had been on a visit to the Vicomtesse de Gavaret. She had held out hopes to each separately beforehand, and, on the occasion of their visiting her together, had the address to content all three at one and the same moment. She gazed amorously at Geoffrey Rudel, and at the same moment pressed tenderly the hand of the Seigneur de Bergerac, and pressed with her foot the foot of Savari de Mauleon. The object of the tenso was to decide who had received the greatest favour. Geoffrey Rudel, who had received the amorous gaze, maintained that the pressure of the hand was a mere courtesy, the touch of the foot might be an accident, but that a look arises from the soul. The Seigneur de Bergerac, whose hand had been pressed,

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<sup>1</sup> André. Livre de l'Art d'Aimer.

maintained that the look was of no consequence, since kind looks are given to all; the touch of the foot was no great intimacy, because the foot was covered; but when a white hand without glove presses tenderly your own, it is a sign that genuine love is present. With still more convincing eloquence did Savari de Mauleon defend the foot.<sup>1</sup>

And in these amorous triflings was much time passed almost daily. Codes of laws also began to be drawn up by the Courts,<sup>2</sup> to which life at large must needs submit itself, and the most minute details of love-making were regulated and laid down with the nicest discrimination. The value and weight which was attached to them may be gathered from the mythical stories which were told of their compilation. And if the Koran was believed to have been sent down from heaven, the Laws of Love were supposed to owe their origin to witchcraft and enchantment. Fables of Troubadours riding in forests, and finding scrolls attached by chains of gold to such and such a dragon's neck, or such a wild bird's perch, and how these scrolls contained the veritable statutes and regulations of the Court of Artus or the Court of Narbonne<sup>3</sup>—such fables, I say, were employed to mystify the vulgar and to give a prestige to what but else was the very excess of trifling and folly. For to instance but a few of these statutes from the the Laws of the Court of Artus:—<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Reynouard. *Reculée*, &c. II.

<sup>2</sup> Nostradamus. *Les vies des plus célèbres*, &c. André. *Livre de l'Art d'Aimer*.

<sup>3</sup> The story of the discovery of the laws of the Court of Artus is told in Reynouard. II. It may lay claim to lively and poetical imagination.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Reynouard. II.

1. That married people must be allowed the privilege of entertaining lovers.

2. That the test of a lover is his power to keep a secret.

3. That a lady may permit herself to be loved by two gentlemen at one and the same time, or a gentleman by two ladies.

4. That it is not well to snatch favours without full permission, because as a rule they are tasteless.

5. That the more difficulties stand in the way of enjoyment, the greater the pleasure when it is achieved.

&c., &c.

And to these edicts were all within the jurisdiction of the Court compelled to conform, under penalties for disobedience and due rewards for compliance. And the tendency of these things is easily seen, and how we are now in a most strange epoch, which cannot last for long.

And next the Courts began to discuss matters of looser purport, and a freedom is perceptible, which speaks ill for the morality both of Troubadours and of ladies. The following questions may be taken as specimens of the later Tensos: Whether a lover might enjoy the embraces of another lady, if he had first gained his mistress' consent; What are the rights and privileges of seduction; *Utrum intima et secreta amoris vulganda sint*; <sup>1</sup> with others of the same kind. And the Courts of Love began to pass from public assemblies of sixty and more ladies, to private *réunions*, where licentiousness was tolerated and encouraged; and thus they might well join

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<sup>1</sup> The first of these questions was debated in tenso before Queen Eleanor of Guienne (André. Livre de l'Art d'Aimer. fol. 92.); the second before the Countess of Flanders. (Id. fol. 94.); while a gentleman stood charged with the offence implied in the third, before the Court of the ladies of Gascony. (Id. fol. 97.)

company with certain other assemblies, of a no less secret kind, which at this time were in existence throughout Provence. For swarms of unbelievers and heretics had honeycombed the land, and the waifs and fragments of those infidel opinions of Eastern mysticism, which had travelled to Europe through the medium of the Crusades, and afterwards brought about the ruin of the Templars, were propagated by sectaries on every side. There were the Patarenes, who denounced all marriage as unholy, and preferred the connection of accidental love: the Bulgari, or Bougres, whose views were even more licentious; the Cathari, or Manichæan heretics, whose doctrines on the Nature of the Universe led them to approve and encourage the very worst forms of vice, for they recognised the Duality of Principles, that is, the Eternity of Good and also of Evil, and there was no vice which they could condemn, and no virtue which they could commend. These views, I say, so like in their practical results to the principles and practice of the Troubadours, began little by little to be confounded with them, and the ill-omened name of Albigenses was applied to the gay singers, no less than to the visionary enthusiasts, being itself at first the name of a small but typical sect, which had appeared with some prominence in Albigeois, but destined in the end to become one of the most tragical appellations ever coined by man.

And the doctrines of these sectaries were ceaselessly propagated. They would write them on tracts, and disperse these through the country. They would leave their tracts on the wayside or on the mountains, in the hope that poor people or shepherds might find them. They would have secret conventicles and secret houses of entertainment, in which they would expound



and develop their views, which reposing on the recognition of the Two Eternal Principles, as we have said, grew into a system of morals and of religion most agreeable to the gay companies, who laughed and jested life away on the surface of that fair land. For if Evil was inextinguishable and eternal, being indeed the Great Serpent that encompasses the Universe, and entangles all things in his folds, what need of virtue, and self-restraint, and other lets to delight and pleasure, since to practise these is but to make a silly opposition to the principles of Eternal Nature, which approves of one form of life no less than the other? And these doctrines, I say, whispered in the privacy of conventicles, and spread by secret embassies through all ranks of the people, began afterwards to be heard in the boudoirs of châteaux, and were caught up and repeated from mouth to mouth in those gay and happy assemblies, that we have hitherto found but the recreation grounds of courtly ladies and silk-bedizened Troubadours, with lute and song proclaiming the empire of ideal love. "In the private chamber," says the Troubadour, Izarn, "where the ladies Domergna, Renaud, Bernard, Garsens, sat spinning at their distaffs, there was sure to be some Albigense at their elbows, expounding the great mysteries of creation and existence." And most congenial were the Albigensian doctrines to the Troubadours themselves, for they contained, if in a much perverted and vulgarised form, the main elements of those musical religions that we have before met in this history; and the Eternity of Evil, and the Duality of Principles inextricably interwound with each other, did but repeat those ancient creeds of Pythagoras and Orpheus, how Matter, which was the Evil Principle, was eternal and indestructible, and

how, at first a seething chaos, it was by the power of Good, which is Harmony, attuned to symmetry and order, and how in the Universe, as we know it, these two remain inseparably joined, as the numbers,  $1+2$ , which is the Octave. And these doctrines we have seen appear again and again in this history, weaving themselves round the very existence of Greek Tragedy, and appearing in the tenets of Pythagoras and the mysteries of Orpheus, and now in new mysteries and new tenets appearing among the Troubadours. But we have yet to hear how inimical they were to the Christian religion, and how in this new world of Christendom that they had appeared in, they enforced the denial of Christ, whom the Albigenses explained into a shadow or phantom of Ormazd, and the denial of the Blessed Virgin, and the repudiation of baptism, and the denial of transubstantiation, and, more potently perhaps than all, the renunciation and derision of the clergy, whose dissolute lives, indeed, had otherwise afforded ample theme for reproach. And the Troubadours sent their jongleurs to sing sirventes among the crowd at market days, and at fair times, and in the streets of the chief towns. And the jongleurs, dispatched on their strange errand, acquitted themselves but too well, and striking their lutes, or touching up their violins, they very soon attracted the sympathies of scores of listeners, while they sang their masters' sirventes, than which perhaps nothing fiercer or more scathing has ever been composed. "Ah! false and wicked clergy," runs it in a sirvente of Bertrand of Marseilles, "traitors, liars, thieves, and miscreants! Your balance is gold, and your pardons must be sought by silver. Your portion is the portion of hypocrisy, and the world rings with your roguery." Or from a sirvente of the Troubadour,

William de Figueira, who, grown bolder, attacks Rome herself. "God confound thee, Rome!" he sings. "Thou draggest all that trust in thee into the bottomless pit. Thou forgivest sins for money, and takest the offences of others on thy shoulders, too charged with guilt already." Elsewhere we hear churches called "dens of thieves," the cross, "the mark of the beast," altars, holy water, pilgrimages, confessions, all denounced and vilified. And of the Troubadours nearly all were busy, and concerned in the movement. Few were so happy as Monk of Montaudon, who boasts that Albigenese and Christian were the same to him; and, alas for the Troubadours! but two were on the Christian side. These, who were counted as recreants by their brothers, were the Troubadour, Izarn, and Fulke, Bishop of Marseilles. And these stood the brunt of the musical war, and retorted in counter sirventes, defending the church. And the quarrel had reached the point of the most violent controversial discussion, which is at once terrible to contemplate, and also at this distance of time contains an element of amusement, which however was not then. For let us hear Izarn in reply taking up the championship of the church, and he couches his controversy in *tenso*s between himself and an opponent. "Dost thou believe in the seven sacraments?" he asks. "Dost thou believe in the change of the elements into the body and blood of Christ?" And then came the reply, and so the *tenso* proceeded. "Ere thou art delivered to the flames," sings this recreant Troubadour, "take this to comfort thee at thy burning." "I have in eight points convicted thee, obstinate heretic"—such are some of the pleasantries of this poetical duel, which very soon became a real one. For Innocent III., who at this

time occupied the Papal Chair, was not the man to connive at the impious opinions, which rang throughout the castles of Provence,<sup>1</sup> and, stimulated thereto by the importunity of the Troubadour bishop, Fulke of Marseilles, a man who in his youth had been the gayest and loosest of the Troubadours, but afterwards had recanted, and put on the guise of a sour ascetic, he preached a Crusade against this happy land, where love and music were in their heyday, and all nature smiled. And the Crusaders under the command of Simon de Montfort and the Papal Legate, Arnold of Citeaux, with crosses on their breasts, and all the privileges of a Crusade as if against Turkish infidels, came marching on Provence, to stamp out the cursed heresy, and turn the impious land into a pasture pure once more. And meanwhile on the other side, the Troubadours were arming, chevaliers and knights of high degree gathering their retainers and vassals, and drilling their troops, and pouring forth in the enthusiasm of the moment martial songs and calls to heroism innumerable. And there was putting of castles in defence throughout Provence, and concerting of plans of military operation. And the leaders of the Troubadours were the Counts of Toulouse and of Foix, the Counts of Bearn and of Comminges, the Vicomte de Beziers, Guy de Cavaillon, Guillaume de Montagnogont, Arnould de Comminges, Raymond de Miravals, Guillaume Rainols d'Apt, Bertrand de Marseilles, and others of lesser note in the ranks.

And first, it was against the Vicomte de Beziers that the fury of the Crusaders discharged itself, and

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<sup>1</sup> The main authorities for the narrative which follows, are the Epic by the anonymous Troubadour, "*Aisos es la Cansos de la Crozada contr els Ereges d'Albeges*," and the account of the war of the Albigeois in *Fauriel*, II.

the Christian Army, numbering 20,000 men-at-arms and 200,000 villeins, besides bishops and clergy, marched against the town of Beziers. "God never made clerk or grammarian so learned," writes the Troubadour, who has sung of the wars, "that he could recount the names of the clergy and abbots in it. "And see," he continues, "in what spirit they come! 'There shall not one stone be left on another,' said the Papal legate; and when the town was captured, and he was asked how the soldiers were to distinguish between Christians and Albigenses, 'Slay them all,' he said, 'the Lord knoweth them that are his.' And therefore near 100,000 men were slaughtered at Beziers, and the city of Beziers was set on fire."

And next the Crusaders marched to Carcassonne, where the Vicomte de Beziers commanded in person. And here as elsewhere they commenced the siege with military engines surmounted by a huge cross, and the clergy, and bishops, and the Inquisitors at a little distance, intoning antiphons and psalms, and exciting the Crusaders to deeds of daring. Meanwhile inside the town was the music of guitars and violins, the jongleurs parading the streets, and singing to the desperate people their masters' songs, who themselves were on the bastions leading the defence against the foe. And Carcassonne, too, was taken, and the people massacred, four hundred of the more impious being chosen to be burnt.

And next against the Count of Toulouse the fury of the Crusaders turned itself—but why should we pursue the details of an enterprise, which resulted in the ruin of our delightful music, and the extermination of those gallant spirits who were its gay and poetical exponents? For after scores of such captures, and after repetitions of such massacres, in which the



noblest and fairest fell a victim to the zeal of the Crusaders, at a desperate moment and at the very crisis of the crusade, Pierre, the Troubadour King of Arragon, having but recently triumphed over the Moors of Spain in the great battle of Navas de Tolosa, found himself at last at liberty to help his brother Troubadours and kinsmen. And he sent a sirvente by his jongleurs to the camp of the zealots, saying, "For the love of my lady I am coming to drive ye out, barbarians, of that beautiful land that ye have ravaged and destroyed." And one of the Crusaders, hearing his message, cried out, "So help me God! I do not fear a king, who comes against God's cause for the sake of a harlot." And Pierre began to collect his army, and set out on his march; and let us hear the Troubadour, who sings of the war, describe his coming. "The good King of Arragon," he sings, "on his good steed is come to Muret, and has raised his banners, and assembled round him many a rich vassal, who owes allegiance to his crown. He has brought with him the flower of Catalonia and great knights from Arragon. And yet all these valiant men and all their beautiful armour he must lose." For he came and was conquered in that battle of Muret. Himself was slain, and his gallant army either perished on the field, or were driven into the waters of the Garonne.

And now commenced a work of remorseless destruction on the defenceless people. Castle after castle was taken, town after town, and at each there was murder and cruel slaughter. At La Minerve near Narbonne, a hundred and forty of the Albigenses were burnt alive in a great bonfire, all together. At Bran, Simon de Montfort, the Papal leader, tortured to death one hundred chosen victims. At Lavaur eighty

chevaliers were gibbeted. The sister of Almeric, the Troubadour commander, was charged with complicated incest, and was thrown down a deep well, and oppressed with stones. By the intervention of "a Frenchman, courteous and gay," the other ladies of the town were saved, but four hundred of the most impious of the Albigenses, with their Troubadour leaders, were burnt "with immense joy" by the Crusaders. Wherever they went, they spread desolation over the country. Vineyards lay blackened and destroyed, fields were bare and hard, villages burnt, castles in ruins. The gay reign of Love and the Troubadours was over for ever.

*FINIS.*





LONDON :  
PRINTED BY POPLETT AND TAYLOR,  
BEECH STREET, E.C.







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